

THE MONTH

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DECEMBER, 1894.

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I.—FATHER PARSONS' "CHRISTIAN DIRECTORY."

THE history of the decline and eclipse of Catholicism in England has yet to be written. When it is written, one of the most interesting, and not the least important, chapters of such a work will surely be that which deals with the subject of Catholic literature under the penal laws. To some extent at least it is true that we may judge a man by the company he keeps, and so in the case of a large body of men, if we know what a nation reads, we may also arrive at a very shrewd estimate of its intellectual and religious condition. No doubt such inferences as we may be tempted to draw from our knowledge of the Elizabethan book-trade must be discounted by the fact that at that epoch a large proportion of the population could not read at all. No doubt again Englishmen, even when they could read, were not altogether at liberty to choose their reading for themselves, for freedom of the press entered as little into the political programme of Elizabeth's Ministers as freedom of worship. None the less, when these things are allowed for it will hardly be disputed that the subject is one of much more than bibliographical interest, and that despite the labours of such men as Dodd in a past generation, and Mr. Gillow in our own, its broader bearings have not yet received from students of history that full attention which they deserve.

It is the object of this paper to call attention to the evidence which may be derived from this source, and to indicate roughly the conclusions to which the facts appear to lead, but before going further it will be well to get some idea of the conditions, from the point of view of religious censorship, under which literature existed in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century. In the very first year of the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-9, were promulgated a series of *Injunctions given by Her Majesty*, in which, amongst other matters, the

printing was strictly forbidden of "any book or paper of what sort, nature, or in what language soever it be, except the same be first licensed by Her Majesty, or by vi. of her Privy Council, . . . or be perused, or licensed," by two at least of a certain list of officials herein named, "whereof the Ordinary of the place to be always one." There were certain classes of literature exempted from this sweeping enactment, as, for instance, editions of the Latin and Greek classics, but practically speaking, it affected the London publishing trade in all its branches. That the ordinance was not by any means allowed to become a dead letter, there is abundant evidence. It was a matter in which, for some reason or other, Elizabeth apparently did not care to invoke the authority of Parliament, but the Star Chamber turned their attention to it, and issued, in 1566, an *Ordinance for the reformation of divers disorders in the printing and uttering of books*, which threatened heavy penalties by way of fines and imprisonment against all who printed or brought into the realm "any book against the form and meaning of any statute, or law, or injunction, &c., passed by the Queen's authority." Moreover, this was followed by a series of royal proclamations reiterating still more sternly the same prohibition in various forms, and on various occasions, and practically reducing all books of Catholic controversy to the status of traitorous and seditious libels.¹ In particular the Star Chamber again, in 1586, roused by the growing spirit of revolt amongst Puritans and Brownists, issued a decree which, besides re-enacting in substance the injunctions already referred to, and imposing severe penalties not only upon the printers of unauthorized books, but upon all who sold, bound, or stitched them, proceeded to set forth a scheme for the reducing of the number of printing presses within the royal dominions. With the exception of a single press for Oxford, and one for Cambridge, the very existence of a printing establishment was forbidden anywhere outside London. Every unlicensed press

¹ The ordinance is dated June 29, 1566. The proclamations, March 1, 1569; July 1, 1570; November 14, 1570; June 11, 1573; September 28, 1573; March 26, 1576; September 27, 1579; October 3, 1580; June 30, 1583; October 12, 1584; July 1, 1588; February 13, 1589; October 18, 1591; April 5, 1601. Professor Arber calls attention to most of these proclamations, but not to all of them. There must have been a proclamation also prohibiting the importing of books in 1564, as appears from a document printed by Arber, *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*, vol. ii. p. 63. The High Commission Court also felt themselves called on to interfere in the same matter, and we have documents emanating from them in 1560, 1595, 1598. (*Ibid.* ii. 62, Rivington, liii.)

was to be broken up and destroyed, and no new one was to be established until, in the judgment of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, the "excessive multitude" of these establishments had been brought within reasonable limits.

The exact working of these various enactments, and the technical legality, or illegality, of the prosecutions instituted under them, need not detain us here. It would seem that the possession of a printed book "contrary to the Book of Common Prayer,"¹ was an offence which might be dealt with indifferently either in the Bishop's Court, or by the ordinary Justices of the Peace, but when the Government for any reason wished to make an example, the Crown lawyers found it easy, amid the multitude of penal offences they had created, to secure a conviction for felony, or high treason, at the assizes. Throughout the reign, and from quite an early period, there was a good deal of searching, at least by fits and starts, in the houses of suspected recusants. John Stowe, the historian, whose library, according to the verdict of the Bishop of London's chaplain, "declared him to be a great favourer of Papistrie," was subjected to this indignity in 1569, and it is interesting to find that the searchers considered it worth their while to include in their inventory of unlawful books, such apparently harmless works as Bede's *Church History of England*, translated by Stapleton, and sundry mediæval tractates and chronicles in manuscript. As time went on, any connection with the more prominent manifestoes issued either by Catholics or Puritans, became dangerous matter indeed, and we meet with such typical instances as that of W. Carter, sentenced to a traitor's death in 1584, for the printing of the *Treatise on Schism*, of "Thomas Awfield, Seminary Priest, and Thomas Webley, a dyer's

¹ To take one instance. Amongst the MSS. of the Corporation of Leicester (Hist. MSS. Commission, vol. ix. p. 430) we have, under date May 15, 1584, a letter from Thomas Clarke, mayor of Leicester, to Sir Francis Walsingham, principal Secretary to Her Majesty, written at the instance of the Earl of Huntingdon, and touching a seizure of books contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, made at the house of one Grene, a currier of Leicester, who brought the said unlawful books from London. The mention of the Book of Common Prayer probably has reference to the Act of Uniformity passed in 1559, which has a clause prescribing severe penalties against "any person or persons who shall in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by other open words, declare or speak anything in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the same book, or of anything therein contained, or any part thereof." No doubt this would have been held quite sufficient warrant for proceeding against the author of any Catholic prayer-book, or work of controversy. A proclamation of October 20, 1573, makes further reference to this statute.

servant in London, condemned as felons for bringing seditious books into this realm, and dispersing the same among their favourers"¹ (1585), of the Puritans, Barrow and Greenwood, hanged at Tyburn, in 1593, for books attacking Church Government, or the Catholics, Duckett and Collings, put to death for their share in printing and disseminating an edition of Father Southwell's *Humble Supplication*. The mere possession of an unlawful book was not usually made the sole ground of conviction when recusants were sentenced to fine or imprisonment, but the proclamations and Star Chamber decrees served as an ever-ready weapon in the hands of the persecutors, through which their victims were harassed by endless searchings and delations, every now and then culminating in some cruel tragedy like those just cited.

Moreover, as far as the publishing trade went, the quasi-inquisitorial powers placed in the hands of the episcopate seem to have been far from inoperative, in fact, to use the words of the historian of the Stationers' Company, "the grip of authority went on tightening and tightening until it climaxed in the Star Chamber decree of 1637." Professor Arber, who cannot be suspected of sympathy with the Catholic party, sums up the whole attitude of the Bishops to the Press in these words:

In the interval between 1571 and 1576 . . . the Anglican hierarchy assumed a greater authority over unborn books than their Romish predecessors had hitherto continuously exercised. This supervision became more and more stringent, until almost every important book was either entered in a full court of Master Wardens and Assistants of the (Stationers') Company; or else was authorized both by the clerical licenser, and—as if that were insufficient—by one of the wardens as well. All which is a testimony to a large amount of fearfulness as the result of this episcopal pressure.

The same authority repeats elsewhere that "the Bishop of London assumed a more especial authority than had apparently been exercised by the Roman Catholic Bishop of London, though he were a Bonner, in Mary's reign, over the operations of this City Company."

It was necessary to enter into this much of explanation in order to appreciate the import of the facts to which I wish now to draw attention. When we consider the tendency of these

¹ So runs the title of a contemporary account of the trial and execution printed in the same year, a copy of which is preserved in the Lambeth Library.

measures of repression, and when we remember that almost every one of the twenty-five English printers of that date was concerned in the publication of violent anti-Roman literature in some form or other, it is surely strange to find that the stalls of the London booksellers were still crowded with religious or semi-religious works of Popish origin, works whose thinly-veiled Catholicism could have been a secret neither to printers nor purchasers. There is of course no question here of the Catholic books printed beyond seas and secretly poured into the country with untiring zeal and ingenuity from Rouen, Douai, Rhemes, Antwerp, Cologne, and other places. The number of these works was very great, and one is tempted to doubt if the output of the writers on the Catholic side on any point of controversy, despite their slender resources, did not keep pace with that of their Protestant rivals. Such wares, however, could not be exposed for sale in the face of royal proclamations. They were disposed of by stealth, and, as the Protestant champion, Dr. Gee, somewhat unaccountably complains, at exorbitant prices. But besides the large supplies which were thus scattered throughout the country, and which at times fell wholesale into the hands of the Government, there was still a demand for Catholic literature which the home publishers did their best to meet, and for which they were strong enough to secure episcopal license, or at least connivance.

This is the feature in the literary history of the Elizabethan period which seems to me to deserve more careful attention. It need surprise no one that treatises on indifferent subjects, works of science, or history, or geography, should be readily adopted from abroad without much attention being paid to their authorship. There is nothing very noteworthy, for example, in the appearance in the Stationers' Registers, a few years after its publication in Rome, of the *Arithmetic* of Christopher Clavius, even though the writer was an eminent Jesuit and the chief promoter of the reform in the Calendar, which England obstinately rejected. So Father Acosta's *Natural History of the Indies*, and at a later date, Father Pozzo's *Perspective* and Father Alvarez's *Prosody*, became as thoroughly naturalized as the translations, of Ariosto, Tasso, or Du Bartas. Again, it was not so strange that the works of religious teachers, recognized as classical in the country of their origin and devoid of any special ground of offence to Protestants, should find a sale in an English version. Nevertheless, the great popularity

of such translations, I venture to think, will surprise any one who carefully looks into the subject. To take a few examples. There were at least fifteen different editions in English, most of them large and substantial volumes, of the various religious works of the Spanish Bishop, Anthony Guevara, during the reign of Elizabeth alone. Again, an inspection of the Stationers' Registers reveals the fact that in the four years, 1598—1601, eight London publishers were engaged in reproducing in an English dress different ascetical treatises of Fray Luis of Granada. Similarly, Jean de Cartheny's pious allegory of the *Wandering Knight*, a work interesting as having very probably contributed suggestions both for the *Faery Queen* and for Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, was entered in the keenness of competition by two rival publishers in the year 1581, and having, like all those hitherto mentioned, been expurgated of anything that was too distinctively Catholic, was printed and went through many editions.

But much more striking than the facts hitherto cited, is the reception accorded to the works of those who at this very time were the leaders in the religious campaign on the Catholic side, the chief actors in that "damnable and traitorous conspiracy," as the Government called it, devised by "false Jesuits and Seminaries abroad" against the lawful Sovereign of England. There is a great deal that is instructive in the practical commentary thus afforded by the action of the people upon the language of their rulers. No doubt it might readily be understood that at a period of popular excitement the writings on both one side and the other would be eagerly bought up by those who are interested in the question of the hour. But that is not the case here. I am not speaking of such political tracts as *Leicester's Commonwealth*, the Marprelate pamphlets, the *Book of the Succession*, or the various replies to Elizabeth's proclamation of 1591. These were all books of burning interest, and although the possession of them often meant imprisonment or even death to the possessor, they were eagerly sought after and read. On the other hand, the works now alluded to were books to which no adventitious excitement attached—mere devotional treatises which had practically no bearing upon any matter of controversy, and the contents of which were so innocent that they were licensed under the hands of Anglican Bishops, and printed without restriction or disguise. No man reads for edification's sake the religious writings of one whom

he believes in his heart to be a knave and a traitor, and I submit that the popularity of such books as Father Parsons' *Christian Directory* and Father Southwell's *Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears* is a strong testimony to the belief of the great bulk of Englishmen in Elizabeth's day that their authors were men of higher character and nobler lives than the Bishops and "ministers of the word," who slandered them for their supposed disloyalties. It will be worth while therefore to try to estimate the popularity of the non-controversial writings of these two eminent Jesuits. Without in the least undervaluing the work of many other Catholic Englishmen who wrote at that period, it will be admitted that these two stood out conspicuous among their fellows, and there are many reasons which make them particularly suitable to illustrate the question before us.

Among the Jesuits held up to popular execration at that period, no one occupied a more prominent position than Father Robert Parsons, who, after his visit to England with Father Campion in 1581, had devoted himself with incessant activity at the Court of Philip II., in France, in the Netherlands, and at Rome, to the support and encouragement of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. If we were to judge of the feeling of Englishmen at large by the Government manifestoes, the reports of Walsingham's spies, and the attacks of his opponents in controversy, we should be led to the conclusion that Father Parsons was a man utterly discredited, an archconspirator of base origin and despicable character, who spent his life in writing slanders upon loyal Englishmen, and in hatching plots for the assassination of the Queen. We should hardly have expected to find that such a man was the author of the most widely-read devotional treatise of that age, and that his book was set forth for the profit of all good Protestants with the full allowance of episcopal licensors. Yet so it was, and the popularity of the *Christian Directory* continued almost unimpaired in England for nearly two hundred years.

Father Parsons, in the Preface to the first edition of his work, explains simply enough how the volume came into being. A distinguished Spanish Jesuit, Father Gaspar Loarte, had published, about 1569, a handy little book of practical piety, half instruction, half prayer-book. This had been translated into English under the title of the *Exercise of a Christian Life*,¹

¹ It is hard to understand what can have induced Father Sommervogel, in the new edition of De Backer's *Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, to enter the first

and Father Parsons had apparently found it of great service during the time that he spent upon the English mission. The idea, therefore, occurred to him of writing an introduction to it with sundry additions, seeing in particular that while Father Loarte made provision for the practice of a virtuous life by those already converted, he had not included in his plan the previous and more important question of the manner in which this conversion was to be brought about. These additions contemplated by Father Parsons grew upon his hands, and he at last abandoned his intention of incorporating Father Loarte's work with his own. Hence, in 1582, there appeared *The First Part of the Booke of the Christian Exercise pertayninge to Resolution by R. P.*,¹ a volume which deals with the motives which might lead to a change of life, or in other words with the sinner's "*Resolution*" to turn to God. Two other divisions or "*Bookes*" were to follow, according to the plan of the author, the one detailing "the manner how a man should put in ure and practice his Resolution made," the other dealing with perseverance and the helps to it. Neither of these two

edition of Father Parsons' *Book of Resolution* under the name of Father Loarte. Father Sommervogel states that the *Resolution* bears upon its title-page the words, "Translated from the Italian." I have satisfied myself by an inspection of the British Museum copy that this is not the case, and indeed the detailed account given in the "Advertisement to the Reader," says most explicitly that "no parte of this first booke of resolution was handled in that (Father Loarte's) treatise."

It may be noted as a point of interest that whereas Father Parsons in the Preface of the 1582 Edition states of "that most vertuous, good gentleman" who translated Loarte's *Exercise* ("James Sancer"), that "after suffering much for the cause of his conscience, he is at present under indurance (*sic*) for the same;" the unknown editor of the 1584 edition omits the mention of imprisonment while retaining the first half of the sentence. From Father Parsons' MS. autobiography preserved at Stonyhurst in Father Green's transcript we learn that this James Sancer's real name was Stephen Brinckley, and it seems that he (is it by inadvertence that he is called *James* in Father Green's MS.?), had been of the greatest assistance in printing Father Parsons' books in England. Two different editions of Loarte's *Exercise* are in the Lambeth Library.

¹ It is curious that though the first edition bears the date 1582, and is described as being printed at Rouen in that year in the author's MS. autobiography, nevertheless in the Preface to the amended edition of 1607 Father Parsons assigns to it the date 1583. Inspection makes it clear that the printing of the book began with signature B, with which also the pagination begins. When the first sheets were struck off, Father Parsons intended to include a reissue of Loarte's work, but by the time it was completed the idea of incorporating Loarte's *Exercise* had been given up, and signature A was prefixed with an advertisement to the reader announcing this fact. This explains the otherwise very puzzling "Preface to the Christian reader touchinge two editions of this booke" which occurs on p. 1, sign. B. The two editions meant are the 1579 Loarte, and the book then printing, but, as was said above, Father Parsons' book actually developed into a long introductory treatise to Loarte.

last divisions of the work ever saw the light, and consequently the title "Book of the Resolution," by which at the outset the work was invariably known, still remains a more correct designation of its contents than that which has in the long run been accepted, and which was intended by Father Parsons as the general title of the whole—to wit, "The Christian Directory." Much confusion has been imported into the matter through the publication by Protestant booksellers of a "Second Part" of the *Book of Resolution*.¹ This was not the second of the three "Books" contemplated by the author in his original plan, nor is it coincident with the second of the two sections into which he had always divided the *Book of Resolution*, but it is only a separate impression of the large quantity of additional matter which Father Parsons had introduced on re-editing his volume in 1585. The *Book of Resolution*, though subject to all the disadvantages of English works printed abroad, at once achieved a success. It was soon out of print, and two years later another edition—this, unlike the former, being printed in black letter—was published without the author's knowledge at Rouen. On the title-page it is declared to be "corrected and newly imprinted, anno 1584," but its claim to greater correctness is belied by the occurrence of a typographical error, "WIHT PRIVILEGE," a few lines lower down. The treatise, though free from controversial matter, was soon denounced to the Government, and one of Walsingham's spies, writing in February, 1584, after announcing the despatch of ships to Turkey with Psalters and Testaments—a proceeding which ought to give edification, we might suppose, to modern Bible societies—reports that many copies of the "Book of the Resolution" have been printed and distributed amongst Protestants in England. The next stage in the history of the work is a remarkable one. A well-known Protestant divine, Mr. Edmund Bunny, minister at Bolton Percy in the liberties of York, meeting with Father Parsons' volume and perceiving that it was "of good persuasion to godliness of life, and was willingly read by divers," determined to purge it of its corruptions and errors, in order, as he says in a dedica-

¹ All the bibliographers, De Backer not excepted, have been misled upon this point. No "Second Part" of the *Resolution* was ever printed separately by Catholics. On the other hand, Mr. Bunny, of whom more further on, being furious at Father Parsons' criticism of his edition, took the line of pretending that the additions made to the book in 1585 were worthless. Hence he would have nothing to do with the issue of the "Second Part," which, though castigated like the first for the use of Protestants, appeared under no other name but that of Robert Parsons.

tory epistle to His Grace the Archbishop, "that the good which the reading thereof might otherwise do might carry no hurt or danger withal, so far as by me might be prevented." By the 9th of July, 1584, Mr. Bunny's labour of expurgation had been completed, and an Appendix had been drawn up in the form of a "Treatise tending to Pacification," urging with an appearance of moderation just that degree of conformity which spelt ruin of all Catholic principle. Father Parsons had reason to feel indignant. That the original of his treatise should be proscribed, and that this eviscerated counterfeit should be circulated in its place and under his initials, was bad enough, but that it should have a controversial treatise tacked on to it, and that *The Resolution* should thus serve as the vehicle to administer a dose of poison, a *coup de grace*, it might be, to many languishing souls, was enough to upset the equanimity of a calmer temper than his. Nevertheless, he had sufficient self-command to retort without loss of dignity, and it may be doubted whether he was ever seen to more advantage in controversy than in the Preface to the greatly enlarged volume of 1585, wherein he makes fun of the treatment his book had received, and with admirable good-humour and point rallies the new editor,

Who with public license under my lord Archbishop of York his protection hath set forthe the same to the benefit of his brethren, but yet so punished and plumed, which he termeth purged, as I could hardly by the face discern it for mine, when it came unto my hands, and I took no small compassion to see how pitifully the poor thing had been handled.

Father Parsons' Preface is dated from "St. Omer in Artoys," July 29, 1585, and he was much occupied at this period in a scheme for the establishment of a school for English Catholics, which being carried shortly afterwards into effect, resulted in the foundation of the great Jesuit College domiciled successively at St. Omers, Bruges, Liege, and Stonyhurst. It is a curious instance of the irony of history that just about the time Father Parsons was despatching his witty castigation of Mr. Bunny from St. Omers, that reverend minister of the Word¹ was engaged within the walls of the future Stonyhurst College in preaching Protestantism to the unwilling ears of Sir Richard

¹ I am not forgetting that there were two Bunnys, Edmund and Francis, but besides the fact of his greater propinquity to Stonyhurst, we know that the former was frequently engaged in this kind of itinerant preaching.

Shireburn's recusant wife and daughters. Happily for posterity the ladies proved thoroughly staunch Papists, securing themselves against the orator's blandishments by an expedient very similar to that which the companions of Ulysses found so effective against the sirens. "Upon complainte made to the Lord President of Yorke," writes an accuser of Sir Richard Shireburne, "for the recusancy of his wife, children, and familie, he caused Mr. Bunny to come thither to preach, and his wife and daughters did stoppe their eares with woll leaste they should heare."¹

However, neither Mr. Bunny's mutilations of the text nor Father Parsons' vigorous protest prevented the great merit of the *Book of the Resolution* from attaining a rapid and up to that time unparalleled popularity. It is not easy to arrive at an exact estimate of the number of distinct editions which appeared in those early days. The library of the British Museum, which is not exceptionally rich in books of this class, alone contains nine different editions of the work issued by Protestant publishers between 1584 and the end of the century, and it was certainly printed at least four times by Catholics abroad during the same period.² That these Catholic copies found their way into England in large numbers we have abundant evidence, and from then until now there has probably never been a time when the work has been completely out of print.

One curious testimony to the popularity of the work has survived to our days in a memorial addressed by N. Newton, H. Hatfield, and others, the printers of Mr. Bunny's edition, to the Privy Council some time in the winter of 1585-6. The petitioners there set forth that the printing of the book called *The Resolution* belonged of right to them alone, that it had the largest sale of any work known in the trade at that day, and that they counted upon it to keep them in employment for a long time to come. But the document is sufficiently interesting to be given entire.

¹ State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxl. no. 140.

² During the sixteen years, 1584-1600, I am inclined to think that there must have been at least twelve editions issued by Protestants of the first part of the *Resolution*, and eight or nine of the second. There were also a number of editions in the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth the book obtained a new lease of life in the revision of Dean Stanhope, several times reprinted. To judge by the number of copies still extant it would seem that the Catholic editions of the work, St. Omers (really Rouen), 1585, Louvain, 1598, Douai (?) 1607, must have been exceptionally large. The editions of the London publishers in the sixteenth century were restricted by law to a maximum of 1,000 copies.

To the right Honourable the lords and others of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

The memorial, &c., . . . in most humble wise sheweth unto Your Honours: that whereas a book called *The Resolution* was first allowed to be printed by my lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and after according to the charter of our company under the great seal of England entered in our Hall Book to be the copy of John Wighte, Bookseller, upon condition that we your poor orators, namely Nynian Newton, Arnold Hatfield, John Jackson, and Edmund Bollifant, should be the only workmen thereof, which being the most vendible copy that happened in our Company these many years would have kept us in work for a long time,—but to our great prejudice and hindrance, as also to the loss of the owner of the said copy, Joseph Barnes printer at Oxford immediately printed one impression of the said book, notwithstanding the said John Wighte for reverence and good-will to the University then sent his son to Oxford, to buy the said impression of the said Barnes and paid him ready money for it to his contentment, whereupon the said Barnes made faithful promise that he would never reprint the same book; and yet notwithstanding the said Wighte's courteous dealing, the said Barnes being furnished with money by him, forthwith imprinted two impressions more, contrary to all honesty and reason and contrary to his faith and promise, which others perceiving to pass without controlment, printed also the said book to our great hindrance and thereby disurnished us of work for the most part ever since.¹

It is hard to feel very much sympathy with the complainants in this quarrel among thieves, but the document shows us clearly that within eighteen months of its first appearance Father Parsons' mutilated *Resolution* had been printed five times or oftener. That the market was not overflowed by these impressions is proved by the fact that in 1588 was licensed another edition of the *Resolution*, with Mr. Bunny's rejoinder to Father Parsons' Preface, as well as by the appearance soon afterwards in separate form of those chapters added by the author, to which the Protestant publishers gave the name of the "Second Part" of the *Christian Directory*. The book, in fact, continued in constant demand among Protestants for nearly two hundred years to come, it was translated into Welsh, it had a notable influence on men of such widely different characters as the Puritan Baxter and the historian Gibbon, it was even read aloud, as we learn from a controversialist writer in 1604, by ministers in their churches, and its style was commended by literary critics of early date, like Gabriel Harvey

¹ Winter of 1585-6. State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. 185, no. 73.

and Edmund Bolton. So, too, its reputation was used to help to float other books. Thus a Protestant edition of Father Loarte's *Christian Exercise* recommended itself to notice as being "The first ground and foundation whence the two treatises appertayning to Resolution were made and framed by R. P."¹ Again we meet with a work called *The resolved Christian exhorting to Resolution* which appeared in 1600, and was more than once reprinted, and *The Mirror of Men's Miseries, or a summary of the first part of the Resolution*, was entered in the Stationers' Registers as early as 1594.

Bearing all this in mind it is no exaggeration to say that Father Parsons' *Resolution* was the most popular book of devotion known to Englishmen, not only of that day, but almost down to the publication of Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest* and Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying*.² Moreover there was no disguise about its authorship. It is true that Mr. Bunny declares in his Preface:

Who it is that was the author of it, I do not know, for that the author hath not put to his name, but only two letters in the end of his Preface, which two letters I have set down under the title of the book itself.

Without wishing to impute to Mr. Bunny a categorical falsehood, I must take the liberty of disbelieving the strict accuracy of this disclaimer. No doubt he felt justified in saying that he knew no more than the book told him, but it is impossible to suppose that he alone was ignorant of what was a matter of common notoriety. For more than three years all England had been ringing with the name of the arch-traitor Robert Parsons, the State Papers are filled with his doings, almost every Catholic pamphlet which in any way attracted notice was laid at his door, neither were there so many English Jesuit writers abroad at that time as to suggest any doubt of the identity of Robert Parsons with R. P., the author of the *Resolution*. However, if Mr. Bunny thought fit to dissemble his knowledge for a time (he betrays it clearly enough in his reply, dated 1588, to Parsons' Preface), the London printers were less

¹ This Protestant edition of Loarte was printed by W. Leake in 1594, but I have not been able to meet with a copy.

² I am not altogether losing sight of Louis Bayly's *Practice of Piety* and Arthur Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, published at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Both these books, however, were distinctly Puritan in character and it was among the Puritans their circulation lay. The *Whole Duty of Man* belongs of course to a later date.

discreet, and we find the authorship stated without disguise in the editions of the "Second Part," printed by J. Charlewood in 1590, twice in 1591, in 1592, and I know not how often afterwards.

Courteous reader [says the introductory address], not manie yeares since a booke was published of *Christian Exercise appertaining to Resolution*, written by a Jesuite beyond the Seas, yet an Englishman, named Maist. ROBERT PARSONS, which Booke, Maister EDMUND BUNNEY having diligently perused, committed to the publike view of all indifferent judgments as glad that so good matter proceeded from such infected people, and that good might arise thereby to the benefite of others. Since the manifestation of that Booke the first authour thereof, named Ma. ROBERT PARSONS, hath enlarged the same Booke with a second Part and newe additions, &c.

Yet this Master Robert Parsons is the same "unnatural subject" singled out with Cardinal Allen to be denounced by name in Elizabeth's proclamation of 1591 as "the principal seditious heads of these dens and receptacles which are by the traitors called Seminaries and Colleges of Jesuits." When we recall the terms in which Elizabeth's Government in their official pronouncements speak of the "idolatrous priests and Jesuits, the creatures of the Beast, the very loathsome locusts that crawl out of the bottomless pit,"¹ when we are assured of their "hidden, hellish, and damnable designs against Her Majesty's person and life," and remember that in the admonition to the form of thanksgiving sent to every parish church in 1594, the people were told that "Lopez his late purposed empoisoning is said to have been first plotted and set on foot in Spain by Parsons the Jesuit friar," we begin to appreciate how strange an anomaly it was that half the congregations thus admonished should come home from their compulsory attendance at the Sunday service to read at their own fireside the godly meditations of the same Master Robert Parsons "On the Accompting Daye" and "The Nature of Sinne and Sinners."

It is true that Father Parsons himself suggests a partial explanation of the mystery by reminding us that at this period there were practically no devotional treatises written by

¹ "An Order for Prayer and Thanksgiving (necessary to be used in these dangerous times) for the safety and preservation of Her Majesty and this realm. Set forth by Authority," 1594 and 1598. Both editions contain the above-quoted phrases in the "Admonition to the Reader." The 1598 Edition adds to these flowers of rhetoric by referring to the Pope as "that blood-sucking Romish Antichrist, with his whole swarm of shavelings."

Protestants. Religiously-minded men, if they wished to nourish their piety at all, were bound to have recourse to books of Catholic origin.

I would demand of Mr. Bunny [he says] where or when any of his religion did either make or set forth (of themselves) any one treatise of this kind or subject—I mean of devotion, piety, and contemplation? Of ours I can name infinite, both of times past and present. As in times past, St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, St. Anselm, John Gerson, Thomas de Kempis, Dionysius Carthusianus, and others, whom no man will deny to have been all of our religion. For this time present, the most excellent writings of Ludovicus de Granada, Diego Stella, Polancus, Augerius, and this present book with infinite others.

That this allegation was substantially true at that date, as far at least as the English language was concerned, appears sufficiently from Mr. Bunny's own very lame reply to it. But it is at best only a partial explanation of the anomaly we are considering, for there was plenty of devotional literature translated from Guevara, Lewis of Granada, and many more accessible to Englishmen before the books of Father Parsons and other Jesuits were given to the world. Neither can there be any doubt that a serious demand for this sort of literature would even then have soon created a supply, as it unquestionably did in the following century. Moreover, the popularity of Father Southwell's verse, a popularity far exceeding that of many Protestant contemporary poets of equal ability, remains still to be accounted for.

Again there was another cause which must have contributed to the popularity of the "Second Part" at least of Father Parsons' book. Those who may be acquainted with the early editions of the *Christian Directory*, printed in 1585 and 1598, will remember the very large amount of space assigned to two subjects which seem somewhat out of place in such a treatise, the chapters headed, "That there is a God" and "The proofes of Christianity." Father Parsons, in his Preface, explains why these chapters, afterwards again withdrawn by himself¹ in the 1607 and subsequent editions, were added:

Partly also upon advertisement of good and reverend Catholic priests that live in England, who finding by their experience in dealing with men's souls (as myself also did) that this long time of schism and

¹ These chapters were withdrawn by him not as out of season, but as adding unduly to the bulk of the book, and "fitter to go in some other work of that argument apart."

sects, wherein they hear nothing but wrangling and contradictions in matters of controversies (their life in the mean space running at all liberty without discipline, and loading their consciences with infinite burden of sin) hath wrought in men's minds a certain contempt and careless insensibility in these affairs, esteeming all things to stand upon probability only of dispute to and fro, and so by little and little doth bring them also to think the same of the Christian religion itself, imagining that the Jews, Turks, and Saracens, and other enemies thereof (being worldly-wise men), may have as great reason perhaps to stand against the same, as these later learned men of our own time have, to stand in so many ranks and divisions of sects against the Catholic faith, and as the old Philosophers pretended to have against the being of one God Himself. (Preface, p. 20, verso.)

In the June number of this Review there appeared a valuable article upon "Atheism under Elizabeth and James I.," citing among other documents the interrogatories of the High Commission Court in an inquiry concerning the alleged atheism of Sir Walter Raleigh. If I were tempted in any way to dissent from the writer's conclusions it would be rather on the ground that she represents the plague of infidelity to have been less serious than it really was. Father Parsons, in the passage quoted and in his *Responsio ad Edictum*, takes a graver view, and his estimate receives a striking confirmation from an unexpected quarter. The pamphleteer, Thomas Nash, one of the wildest but at the same time one of the most gifted of that little circle of playwrights and men of letters who recognized Kit Marlowe and Robert Greene as their leading spirits, was taken in 1593 with a fit of short-lived repentance, and wrote a sort of jeremiad by way of recantation, deploring both his own transgressions and the moral evils of his time. Among other topics touched upon, he arraigns the Protestant ministers of his day and offers them some wholesome advice about preaching, advice which was none the less sound and practical because it came from a man whose acquaintance with the seamy side of London life was so unusually extensive. In Nash's view the rampant evil of the day was atheism, and after referring briefly to the argument for God's existence from providence and design, he thus continues:

O why should I but squintingly glance at these matters, when they are so admirably expatiated by ancient writers? In the *Resolution*¹

¹ Nash does not, of course, mean to include Father Parsons himself among ancient writers, but he implies that the testimony of ancient writers is admirably set forth and developed in *The Resolution*.

most notably is this tribute enlarged. He which peruseth that and yet is Diagorized [*Note in margin*: Diagoras primus Deos negans] will never be Christianized. University men that are called to preach at the Cross and the Court, arm yourselves against nothing but Atheism, meddle not so much with sects and foreign opinions, but let Atheism be the only string you beat on; for there is no sect now in England so scattered as Atheism. In vain do you preach, in vain do you teach, if the root which nourisheth all the branches of security be not thoroughly digged up from the bottom. You are not half so well acquainted as them that live continually about the Court and City how many followers this damnable paradox hath, how many wits it hath bewitched. Where are they that count a little smattering in liberal arts, and the reading over the Bible with a late comment, sufficient to make a father of divines? What will their disallowed Bible [*Note in margin*: Disallowed by Atheists] help them, if they have no other reading to resist Atheists? Atheists if ever they be confuted, with their own profane authors they must be confuted.

It is only ridiculously dull preachers (who leap out of a library of Catechisms, into the loftiest pulpits) that have revived this scornful sect of Atheists. What king's embassy would be made account of, if it should be delivered by a meacock¹ and an ignorant? Or if percase he send variety of Embassadors, and not two of them agree in one tale, but to be divided amongst themselves, who will hearken to them? Such is the division of God's ambassadors here amongst us, so many cow-baby-bawlers and heavy-gaited lumberers into the ministry are stumbled, under this College or that Hall's commendation, that a great number had rather heare a jarring black-sant² than one of their bald sermons.

Nash certainly wielded a very vigorous pen. In expression he is often extravagant, but there is good warrant for the judgment passed upon him by a contemporary.

Something he might have mended, so may all;
Yet this I say, that for a mother's wit,
Few men have ever seen the like of it.³

¹ Meacock, a word of pretty frequent occurrence in Elizabethan literature, seems to mean a poor soft creature.

'Tis a world to see
How tame, when men and women are alone,
A meacock wretch can make the curtest shrew.

(*Taming of the Shrew*, ii. i.)

² Black-sant is said to stand for black sanctus, and to mean a discordant piece of music. For its complete elucidation we shall probably have to wait until Dr. Murray's Dictionary reaches the letter S, a day which, with the present expectation of human life, it is perhaps unreasonable for any but infants in arms to hope to witness.

³ *Return from Parnassus*.

Although the passage which follows has not so immediate a bearing on our subject, I cannot resist quoting it in part as an interesting commentary by an outsider upon the results of the Bible Christianity then in its infancy.

They boldly will usurp Moses' chair without any study or preparation. They would have their mouths revered as the mouths of the Sybils who spoke nothing but what was registered. Yet nothing comes from their mouths but gross full-stomached tautology. They sweat, they blunder, they bounce and plunge in the pulpit, but all is voice and no substance; they deafen men's ears, but not edify. Scripture, peradventure, they come by, of thick and three-fold width, but it is so ugly-claused, plastered, and patched on, so peevishly specked and applied, as if a botcher with a number of satin and velvet shreds should clout and mend leather doublets and cloth breeches.

Get you some wit into your great heads, my hot-spurred divines, discredit not the Gospel. If you have none, dam up the oven of your utterance; make not such a big sound with your empty vessels. At least love men of wit, and not hate them as you do, for they have what you want. By loving them and accompanying with them, you shall both do them good and yourselves good. They of you shall learn sobriety and good life, you of them shall learn to utter your learning and to speak movingly.

These atheists with whom you are to encounter are special men of wit. The Roman seminaries have not allured unto them so many good wits as atheism. It is the superabundance of wit that makes atheists; will you then hope to beat them down with fusty brown-bread dorbellism.¹ No, no, either you must strain your wits an ell above theirs, and so entice them to your preachings and overturn them, or else with disordered hail-shot of Scriptures shall you never scare them.²

Nash's words seem to imply that the Catholics were commonly held to have drawn over to their side many of the ablest men of letters, and there can be no doubt that all poetry and romance were regarded as smacking strongly of Popery in the idea of Elizabethan Puritans. This is what Philagathus says in *The Poor Man's Pathway to Heaven* (1601), of the ballad literature and the collections of "merry tales" that were then so popular.

¹ Clumsiness; it is said that "dorbelical" is still used in the Lincolnshire dialect in the meaning of clumsy.

² Nash, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*, Grosart's Edition, Huth Library, vol. iv. pp. 183-188. The Preface to Greene's *Groatworth of Wit*, written upon his death-bed in 1592, also bears witness to the prevalence of this "diabolical atheism," as he calls it, with which he had himself been infected.

And shall I tell you my opinion of them? I do thus think, that they were devised by the devil, seen and allowed by the pope, printed in hell, bound up by hobgoblin, and first published and dispersed in Rome, Italy, and Spain; and all to this end, that thereby men might be kept from the reading of the scriptures. For even as a lap-wing with her busy cry, draweth men away from her nest, so the popish generation, by these fabulous devices, draw men from the scriptures.

No doubt the Puritan party will not have failed to note and see significance in the fact that the same publishers who issued the successive editions of Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*, and similar works, were also mainly concerned in the printing of *St. Peter's Complaint* and *Mary Magdalen's Funeral Teares*.

Returning to the question of the prevalence of infidelity, I must confess that the facts appear to me to point strongly to the conclusion that the Christian faith of the more educated classes was shaken to its foundations. Of the condition of the country districts it is not so easy to speak, but the moral and intellectual atmosphere of London on the outskirts of the Court seems to have been deeply impregnated with a sort of negative atheism which the official godliness of external observances did little to disguise. Thousands of those who were still, in conscience and conviction, Catholics, too careless about any matter of religion to brave persecution in its behalf, and shrinking with a thoroughly English mistrust from the taint of foreign intrigue which the Government astutely and successfully sought to attach to the Catholic cause, fell into an indifference very nigh akin to absolute infidelity. They were not Protestants, because their common sense and their early training revolted from the narrow Calvinist theology then in vogue; they would not profess themselves Catholics, because the practice of Catholicism entailed the sacrifice of goods and liberty, and seemed to involve some kind of fellowship in the designs of Spaniards and conspirators beyond seas. And so for a while at least, with all their strongly Catholic sympathies, the faith of many tottered on the verge of utter ruin. In this, as in so many other matters, Shakspeare was the representative spirit of his age. I fear, although one would gladly think otherwise, that his own philosophy of life found expression in the words of Prospero:

We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

But he has hardly in all his works an unkindly word of Catholics or Catholic doctrine, and if he had sought devotional reading of any kind, it is to Guevara, and Louis of Granada, and Father Parsons' *Resolution*, we may believe that he would have turned for help and consolation. Whether this was really Shakspeare's case or not, it seems at least that the wide acceptance of such Catholic literature warrants us in concluding that it was the case with a large proportion if not the majority of his contemporaries. Faith was slowly ebbing, but for a while the sympathy with Catholic asceticism remained. Missionaries like Father Parsons and Father Garnet, men whom their worst enemies will not deny to have been shrewd and practical observers, still believed at the end of Elizabeth's reign, that with the return of toleration and security for Catholics, the English nation might yet be won back to the true fold. Whether they judged wisely I do not now pretend to decide, but it may be said, I think, with confidence, that no stronger evidence can be found in favour of their view than the facts of literary history which we have been considering. The presentment of the case is yet far from complete, but this article has already extended to such length that our study of the bibliography of Father Southwell's writings must be deferred until another opportunity.

H. T.

*Across the Tatra.*¹

LEAVING the great bustling capital by the night express, we find ourselves—my son and I—dropped down by the middle of the next day at the quiet little Polish country station of Chabowka, whence a conveyance is to bear us to our destination, Zakopane. Waiting on the platform are half a dozen savage-looking men attired in coarsely braided flannel breeches of a dubious white colour, sandalled feet, and slouching hats adorned by a string of cowrie shells. One of these individuals forthwith discloses himself as our own private savage, sent hither to fetch us in the carriage that waits outside. Carriage, is, however, by far too ambitious a word, apt to convey a false impression as to the style in which things are done in the Tatra; the vehicle in question, which in the vernacular of the country is styled Budka, being in fact nothing more than a long springless cart, with wattled sides and a circular linen awning, affording endless accommodation alike for passengers or for luggage. Some people complain of the roughness of the Budka's motion, but I never had occasion to do so. The whole secret of comfort consists in selecting a long shaped cart, and in making sure that the seats are properly suspended therein by means of linen girthing or straps to admit of their yielding to every movement of the vehicle. These conditions being observed the motion is far from unpleasant, and infinitely superior to that of a carriage with indifferent springs.

Conversation with our driver, who proves to be both intelligent and agreeable, serves to beguile the long drive. Coming from Vienna the difference between Germans and Slavs strikes one very forcibly; there is a natural refinement about the latter which the former lack, and whatever may be his faults, the Pole

¹ The group of mountains known as the Tatra or Central Carpathians, is situated south of Cracow between Poland and Hungary; about half the mountain peaks being in the former, half in the latter country. Zakopane, Krynica, and Stawica are the chief watering-places on the north, Tatra Tured, and Csorba the principal ones on the south or Hungarian side.

is never vulgar. He has far more ease of manner than a German in the same rank of life, and is at once more familiar and more respectful. The Goral (mountaineer) has moreover the advantage over the great mass of his countrymen of never having bowed his neck beneath the yoke of serfdom. His ancestors having been free-born men like himself, there is no reflection of bygone degradation to overshadow his native dignity.

About half way to Zakopane we stop to rest the horses at Neumarkt, a dreary little town, squalid and dirty like most Polish country towns, and with a population in which the proportion of Jews to Christians is as two to one. Some dejected-looking artillery lieutenants who, for their sins presumably, have been told off to this unenviable garrison during the summer months, are lounging listlessly about the square, in futile endeavour to extract some little amusement from criticism of the passing stranger.

We imbibe some atrociously bad coffee, served up in barbarous fashion at the little Jewish inn, or rather as it ambitiously styles itself, the Hotel, and are just preparing to start again, when our driver comes up with a face of grave concern :

"Only fancy what you have forgotten, sir?" he ejaculates, addressing my son.

"Dear me! What?" we ask, much alarmed.

"To give me a glass of beer in order to drink your health!"

This important omission being rectified, we clamber back into the Budka and resume the drive. The air which had previously been stiflingly hot grows gradually cooler as we approach the mountains, till by-and-bye we realize that we are actually shivering, a delicious and almost forgotten sensation, whose very memory had been obliterated by the late hot weeks in town. The mountains at first appearing as a long jagged line on the horizon, begin to acquire distinctness and individuality of outline. The circular opening formed by the linen awning of the Budka is like a frame enclosing the Giewont mountain opposite into a little round picture, whose colours grow deeper and brighter with every minute. Soon the narrow confines of this frame no longer can satisfy our yearning for the mountains whose beauty has thrown its spell upon us; impetuously we tear down the linen hood that shuts out part of the landscape from our eyes; we require no frame, but would enjoy unrestrainedly every atom of the loveliness before us.

Three black-robed, slip-shod Jews stand on the road in deep conversation, with their backs turned to the mountain range. They never look at the mountain of course, for there are no bargains to be made up yonder among the eagles and the chamois. The gold of the setting sun is not the sort of gold they care about, and blue bank-notes have infinitely more attraction in their eyes than the bluest of azure hills.

There is nothing which the orthodox Polish Jews detest so much as being counted when several of them are together, believing as they do that the one on whom falls the last number must inevitably die before long. Having heard of this little Hebrew weakness, the temptation to prove its veracity is to a schoolboy irresistible, and the imp of perversity prompts my son to try the experiment. "One, two, three!" he counts with outstretched finger. It works like a charm, for the hindmost Hebrew ducks frantically down in futile endeavour to avert his fate, and the other two flushed purple with rage, shake their fists angrily at us as we fly past. An effective group they make, these three black-robed figures, with the mountain range as background, all aglow with the crimson sunset. Fine subject for a picture which might be entitled, "*Orthodox Jews cursing blasphemous Gentiles.*"

But soon we have left them far behind, and other pictures take their place, for now we have turned into the long straight cutting through the pine-forest, reaching right up into the bosom of the hills, where we have elected to stay. Swiss-like buildings constructed of rough undyed deal boards, begin to start up on either side of us; two rival hydropathic establishments, and a score of minor villas, most conspicuous among these the now abandoned residence of Madame Modrzejeska, the famous tragic actress, whom the ill-nature of some personal enemies has now compelled to seek a refuge in America. Gentlemen in gaily embroidered Serdaks (a sort of sheep-skin waistcoat worn above the coat), and young ladies masquerading in peasant costume, are walking, talking, and flirting between the trees.

Soon, however, the villas cease, and the road grows deserted again. We have left behind us every trace of man it would seem. It is nearly dark by this time, and we can scarcely distinguish a group of deserted forges standing clustered about the head of the valley, and a low massive stone building that looms very white in the twilight.

Next morning early we reconnoitre the surroundings of our

dwelling. The house itself offers but meagre accommodation, yet sufficient for persons of healthy appetite and contented disposition, but everything around bears the stamp of utter desolation. The ironworks of Zakopane, founded about the beginning of last century, were still twenty years ago a lively and flourishing colony, in possession of a Prussian Baron, who had purchased the property from the Polish family that had owned it for several generations. A large smelting-house and a row of primitive forges, dotted about the side of the valley, served to prepare the iron ore which had been extracted from the adjacent hills, the works being put in motion by a powerful mountain torrent possessing moreover the great advantage of not freezing in winter.

But the Prussian Baron came to grief; and his son-in-law, to whom he subsequently made over the establishment, fared no better. One by one the works were shut up, and the whole property drifted into a state of sequestration from which it has only lately been released by Count Zamoyski, who has become its purchaser. Great hopes are entertained that under his government the ironworks of Zakopane may arise to renewed life and prosperity, but as yet the change of hands is of too recent date to allow of visible improvement. The deserted forges stand crumbling away by the side of the stream that should feed them: their roofs falling in, their *façades* all blotched with damp and mildew. Pieces of iron machinery lie rusting amid the grey boulder stones that strew the valley; a portion of a large iron boiler has slipped down bodily into the bed of the stream, to be gambolled over by the foaming torrent, that has made of it the pretext for a display of fancy waterworks. Each one of the forges used to have a name (presumably that of a relative of the former proprietor), and some of these designations may still be traced above the closed door, as *Huta Thadeus*, or *Huta Tulia*, or sometimes a few letters only have remained such as *na* or *in*, which leave to conjecture the rest of the name they once were intended to express.

The ornamental villa, where formally resided the German Baron, has likewise fallen into decay; its terraced garden, grown up in weeds, is used as pasture-ground by two rough cart-horses, their fore-feet hobbled together, as with awkward halting motions they shamble up and down the worm-eaten steps that lead to the house. The apparatus of the disused fountain is leaning ominously to one side, and the empty pond into which

we peer down over an iron railing, is in a fair way to become a flourishing shrubbery. Already a fine young mountain ash, with berries red as coral, is rearing its head above the grating.

Close alongside stands the former school-house, deserted like everything else; even the casements have here been removed, and the bare window-holes stare down at us like a row of sightless eyes. Both sides of the valley are thickly wooded with pine, and the sound of rushing water comes mingled with the tinkling bells of grazing cows.

Such is Eisenhammer, or as it is called in Polish, Kuznie, lying some three kilometres distant from Zakopane proper. The village itself nestles in a bleak ugly hollow, and close above it, at a respectful distance from the forest, are congregated all the public buildings, such as the Casino, the Post Office, the Carving School, the confectioner, with numerous smaller houses for the accommodation of visitors, all forming a long straggling row towards the forest, but stopping well out of reach, as though the possibility of shade on a burning midsummer day were the great object to be avoided.

A second group of houses, amongst which are the two aforementioned cold water establishments, though far more agreeably situated, is not available for ordinary tourists, there being no inn nor restaurant within reach. For this reason we had decided to take up our quarters at the deserted Eisenhammer, which has moreover the advantage of being the very key to all mountain expeditions. Half a dozen steps in any direction take us right into a fine forest, and wherever we turn we are always accompanied by the crystal voice of one of the many streamlets that run down from the hills to resolve themselves, finally, into the river bearing the name of the Biala Dunajec.

Undoubtedly Zakopane has a great future before it, unfortunate circumstances alone having hitherto retarded its development. An energetic proprietor, possessed of some capital, might here do wonders, and find a worthy and grateful task in rendering more accessible to the general public the beautiful romantic scenery of the northern Tatra.

Within a week of our arrival in these parts, we have dropped into a calm idyllic mode of life, and have acquired all the habits of our surroundings. We spend our mornings in the forests, and our afternoons in making excursions to one or other of the numerous adjacent valleys. We are no longer surprised at being obliged to purchase our ham and sausages of the

confectioner, nor at having to send our umbrella to the wheelwright to be repaired. We begin to forget that such a place as Vienna exists, and find it quite natural to receive our letters from the hands of a man who combines the dual character of postman and bear-hunter. Our interest in European politics is in danger of becoming blunted, and we are far more absorbed in listening to the conclave of peasants assembled each evening before the inn, to drink and talk. Being but ignorant, unsophisticated rustics, both beverage and conversation are many degrees weaker than that to which we are accustomed in the capital. These simple country folk are content to imbibe the smallest of small beer, and to talk the very mildest of diluted high treason.

But our sylvan solitude, delightful as it was, had yet one fault, and a great one. It was too perfectly quiet and peaceful to be unconditionally enjoyed by wretched human beings, weighed down by a sense of the primeval curse, that bids us one and all to earn our bread with the sweat of our brow. We did not feel as though we had a right to enjoy our repose until we had done something to deserve it. Not being lotus-eaters we had a conscience that would not permit us basely to go on consuming the bread of idleness, day after day, in the very shade of those grey granite peaks which seemed to look down upon us in mute reproach. *Excelsior!* they repeated, so often and so persistently, that we could not remain deaf to their exhortations. We felt in honour bound to go up or over *something*, never mind what.

Then just as we were hesitating and debating what to do, our doubts were solved by chance, and our course made clear. Two ladies from Berlin, mother and daughter, with whom we had formed a slight acquaintance, were going over to the Hungarian watering-place of Schmeckr or Tatra Türed, taking *en route* the Morski Oko, or eye of the sea, a lake lying high up in the very centre of the Tatra group.

Now it takes two days to go over the Schmeckr by the Morski Oko, and there are three different ways of doing it.

The first and most ignoble course is to go by carriage over the Bukominer Mountain and Rostock, whence it is an easy two hours' walk to the lake, this being what our Prussian friends proposed to do.

The second, slightly preferable mode, is to go the whole way on foot by the Polana Waksmunska, which though leading

through fine pine woods, offers no very extensive view to the tourist.

The third and noblest course is to go over the Zawrat Pass, which, involving some exceedingly stiff walking, is seldom attempted by ladies.

It is of course superfluous to say that we unhesitatingly decided on this third route. If we were to be disturbed from our idyllic peace and quiet, it should not be for nothing.

On the 15th of July, it had been severely raining all the morning, but cleared at noon, and as the barometer was rising, we determined to start next morning. Our landlord being consulted as to the choice of a guide, despatched a boy to the village in quest of one.

"Bring T——, or W——, or G——, if you can find one of them," he said, "not young W——, because he drinks, nor old G——, because he is too deaf. If none of these are free, then try to get D——."

"Which D——?" inquired the messenger, "do you mean the one who was in prison for poaching last winter?"

"No, no, not him, the one who was kicked downstairs by the musicians at Easter."

"Oh, that one," and having thus satisfactorily established the identity of this desirable guide, the errand-boy departs, and we enter on our preparations for the morn.

About an hour later, as I am sitting in my bedroom, where I have retired for the purpose of trying on my mountain boots, the door burst open, and two rough, unkempt, wild-looking old men, the one fair, the other dark, fly in, and swiftly possess themselves of my right and left hand respectively, which they kiss with passionate fervour.

"I am Wala!" exclaims the fair-haired savage.

"And I am Tatar!" cries the dark one, while each one thumps his tawny chest over and over again, by way of convincing me that they in truth are Wala and Tatar and no mistake about it. Then in a simultaneous torrent of eloquence, which I can but imperfectly follow, they proceed to explain, that both are guides, first-class guides, and are ready, nay burning, to take me up any mountain I choose to name on the spur of the moment.

Resuming my shoes with what dignity I can muster, for all this time I have been sitting in stockings, and consequently feel myself to be at a disadvantage, I go in quest of the landlord,

not quite understanding how it comes to pass that two guides have turned up, whereas I had only sent for one.

The mystery is soon cleared up, for at that moment the inn door opens and our messenger accompanied by a *third* guide, makes his appearance. Wala and Tatar had come hither quite spontaneously it seems, news having somehow reached the village that we were contemplating an expedition.

Here was an *embarras de richesse* indeed. Three savage men all yearning to escort us up the mountain, and looking ready to tear us to pieces in excess of zeal.

This gordian knot is, however, speedily cut by a glass apiece of *wodki* (spirits) being offered to the two discarded guides, Wala and Tatar, who accepting their dismissal with perfect good-humour, after a profusion of hand kissing, directed indiscriminately at all inmates of the room, disappear like a brace of antiquated whirlwinds, abandoning the field to their younger and more lucky rival, who by the way turned out to be, neither the man who had been kicked downstairs at Easter, nor yet any of the previously named candidates.

We have no reason, however, to be discontented with the pilot assigned to us by fate, Thomas Gasienica, who throughout the five days' expedition proved to be not only efficient and trustworthy, but likewise most exceptionally zealous and attentive in providing for our welfare and comfort. Engaging the further services of a boy to carry the wraps and provisions, six o'clock next morning sees us under way for the Morski Oko.

Passing by the Czarny Stav, dark, fishless, and gloomy, we approach the tug of war, the Zawrat, which from a distance looks like a sheer precipitous cascade of loose rolling stones. It is, however, just possible to obtain a footing here; but ascent is slow, for two steps you make aloft, you constantly slip back one, and though not positively dangerous at any one point, there is continual risk of some of the stones disturbed by the foremost pedestrians, rolling down and hitting those in the rear. It was scarcely encouraging, either, to be informed by the guide when about half way up the Zawrat, that at this precise spot, a few years previously, a gentleman was killed by a stone detached from above.

When at last the sharp jagged crest is scaled, which it takes us about an hour to do, we find ourselves upon comparatively easy ground, a steep hillside where a large flock of sheep, tended by dark clad, scowling German shepherds, is grazing on the

stunted grass between the stones. As we pick our way towards the stream where we mean to encamp for a little rest, I notice that Gasienica keeps looking anxiously round towards the top of the hill. "Is he afraid of rain?" I ask. It is not the prospect of rain, however, that is disturbing him it appears, but rather those German shepherds, whose courteous habit it is to roll down stones on any passer-by who may happen to cross the track of their sheep; only when safe out of reach of these gentle pastors can we venture to sit down and refresh ourselves by a cup of tea. Every Polish guide carries his kettle wherever he goes, and each one is an adept in concocting the fragrant beverage that cheers without inebriating. The dry roots of dead krummholz (dwarf pine) lying about make excellent fuel, and the tea partaken of under these conditions, I can vouch for as being infinitely superior to anything ever imbibed from out the rarest old Sevres cup, in the most luxuriously furnished boudoir.

Revived and refreshed, we feel able to cope with half a dozen more Zawrats if need there be, and are quite disappointed to find that our troubles are over for the day. We pass by the Fünf Seen, five little green mirrors linked together by the connecting stream that feeds them, which, glancing in the sunshine just now, resemble the fragment of an emerald necklace, that a giantess might have dropped in these regions. Then over the shoulder of another hill, and before six o'clock we have reached the shelter-hut by the Fish Lake, and rejoined our German friends who had come by carriage.

The reputation of the Fish Lake is amply kept up by scores of lively salmon-trout, leaping all over its surface as we arrive, while a raft stands in readiness to conduct across the water such of the party as desire to inspect the real Moski Oko, a second and smaller lake lying so to say in an upper story or ledge of granite, only to be reached by first crossing the Fish Lake, and then scrambling up the steep rocky wall that separates the two. The whole scene is framed in and surrounded by a grand amphitheatre of granite cliffs, rising sheer from the water's edge at almost every point, and combining to make a picture which has justly been pronounced worthy of the Alps or Caucasus.

The shelter-hut offers accommodation for some thirty persons, each bed being provided with sheets, pillow, and blanket. A night's lodging costs eighty kreutzers, about one shilling and four pence, a price to which some people objected

as being exorbitantly high. Surely they are unjust and fail to take into account all circumstances of the case, for if the lively little insects which shared our couch, had been charged for at a kreutzer per head, should not our bill by rights have been considerably higher?

Whether for this reason or because of the storm that shortly after midnight set in, I was unable to close an eye all night. It was very dreary work lying awake hour after hour listening to the pelting rain on the wooden shingles overhead, and to the wind as it howled round the lonely shelter-hut, shaking its walls and extinguishing the candle as often as we tried to light it, while we anathematized our own folly for having come hither on a bootless errand.

Que diable suis-je venue faire ici dans cette galère, was the burden of my lament, as I restlessly tossed from side to side, during that interminably long night. Quite unexpectedly, however, the weather veered round at 4 a.m., and no capricious beauty ever turned so rapidly from tears to smiles, as this Carpathian tempest changed from a windy rainy night, to a bright calm morning.

So we started off again with an addition to our party, for the German young lady, fired by our description of the previous day's walk, had resolved upon joining us. I had a racking headache in consequence of my sleepless night, and my limbs felt heavy as lead. How on earth was I ever to scale these heights, I began to ask myself in dismay as we drew near the base of the great wall of rock that led to the *Polnisches Kamm*. Surely I was incapable of going a hundred paces further! I should have to give in, to confess my weakness. What a horribly degrading termination to our expedition! Should an Englishwoman suffer herself to be worsted by a Polish mountain? Perish the thought! I *must* get up it, and somehow I did, and long before I had gained the summit, the sharp bracing wind sweeping across the hills, had blown away every vestige of weakness and fatigue.

Then we reach the so-called Frozen Lake, a little piece of water shaped rather like a dumpy fish, still now in July partially frozen over, with snow-covered ice-blocks floating about the surface; and again we pitch our camp, and recruit fresh strength from our teacups.

E. LASZOWSKA GERARD.

The Gunpowder Plot.

I.—SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

Remember, remember, the Fifth of November,
The Gunpowder, Treason, and Plot,
I don't see the reason the Gunpowder Treason
Should ever be forgot.

NO event in our national history has secured so conspicuous a place in the public memory as the Gunpowder Plot, and yet it is probably true to say that there is none concerning which the truth has from first to last been more completely ignored.¹ It is not too much to say that we can be sure of no more than this, that the true history is fully known to no one, and that the history commonly received is untrue.

To a certain limited extent, the facts of the case are clear, and are so familiar to all that we need do no more than briefly

¹ It may be suggested that the fires and fireworks which keep its recollection alive, do not in reality owe their origin to this Plot. On the one hand, it is hard to understand how a design that was never executed, and produced no evil effects except upon the conspirators, actual or supposed, should have so profoundly impressed the minds of the people. On the other hand, there is no doubt that, long before the days of the Plot, it was customary to light fires at the beginning of November, and this not in England only, but in Scotland and Ireland and other countries of Europe, and even in Persia. This was undoubtedly a relic of the ancient fire-worship, and originally many heathenish customs were observed on the occasion. The Church had endeavoured to Christianize the practice, making it an occasion of prayer for the dead, and with such good effect that at the time of the Reformation it had come to be regarded as distinctively Catholic, a character which in many rural districts it retained down to the present century. The Protestant rulers of the country undoubtedly endeavoured to abolish all similar customs connected with the ancient faith: thus we find that in many instances they severely prohibited the ringing of bells on the same occasion, and with the same object of inviting to prayer for the dead. It would have been difficult to suppress a widespread and popular observance, like that of the fires, but not so to make them alter their significance, and it seems not improbable, that advantage was taken of the Gunpowder Plot, to which such a form of celebration was appropriate, and the date of which fell out so opportunely, to convert them from a Catholic into an anti-Catholic demonstration.

For various facts in connection with the fires, see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*; Vallancey, *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1783, 1784, and 1788; *Stonyhurst Magazine*, November, 1888, p. 236.

glance at them. A knot of desperate men, thirteen in all, under the leadership of Robert Catesby and Thomas Percy, goaded to madness by the hardships which they suffered, conceived the atrocious design of blowing up King James I., his Ministers, and all the Legislature, in the Parliament House, on occasion of His Majesty's speech at the opening of the session of 1605, and for this purpose had collected a large quantity of gunpowder in a cellar beneath, where it was discovered on the very day, November 5th, on which the project was to have been put in execution. One of the conspirators, the notorious Guy, or Guido, Faukes, was caught red-handed in the mine, furnished with the requisite materials for effecting the explosion. Another, Tresham, was afterwards taken in London. The rest fled into the western counties, and being brought to bay at Holbeach House, in Staffordshire, were there captured or slain. All those who fell alive into the hands of the Government, with the exception of Tresham, who died in the Tower, and with addition of some individuals accused of being their accomplices or helping them to elude justice, suffered the death of traitors upon the gallows.

So much is certain; but beyond lie many questions, in attempting to answer which we are straightway involved in a region of mystery. It cannot, in the first place, be denied that whatever was the origin of the Plot, it occurred at the most opportune moment to remove grave embarrassments from the path of the Government, who alone profited by it, and profited to a very great extent, so that were we to apply the test recommended in a similar case by Cicero, and, in order to discover the original contriver, to inquire who benefited thereby,¹ there would be little doubt as to the answer. I am not going to suggest, as has frequently been done, that the whole conspiracy was dexterously hatched by the astute Cecil; for, so far as the circumstances are known to us, it seems incredible that even so daring and unscrupulous a politician should have deliberately played so perilous a game, and risked a catastrophe so terrible, as even a premature explosion of the mine would have involved. It must, however, be acknowledged that more hopeless theories have been defended by historians of repute. It is notorious that such a belief was long and widely prevalent. Burnet² speaks of the Plot as "that conspiracy which the Papists in our days

¹ "*Cui bono fuerit.*"

² *History of His Own Times*, i. 11.

have had the impudence to deny, and to pretend it was an artifice of Cecil's to engage some desperate men into a plot, which he managed so that he could discover it when he pleased." But the idea was not suggested by Catholics only, nor after the lapse of years, for we find it entertained by their enemies and members of the State Church who lived at the time of the event. Thus Francis Osborne, a trusted agent of Oliver Cromwell, sets down the whole as "a neat device of the Treasurer's, he being very plentiful in such plots."¹ More emphatic and explicit is Dr. Goodman, Anglican Bishop of Gloucester, who tells us that he himself had seen the earth "digged out of the mine by the conspirators, negligently left open that it might be seen." He bluntly states, as a simple matter of fact,² "The great statesman had intelligence of all this [the discontent of the Catholics], and because he would show his service to the State, he would first contrive and then discover a treason; and the more odious and hateful the treason were, his service would be the greater and the more acceptable."

Various circumstances of the history were cited as giving colour to such a theory, and in particular the fate of the principal conspirators, Catesby and Percy, who were killed in the field at the very moment when their capture was inevitable. As the Government directed all efforts to trace the guilt of the treason beyond the comparatively unimportant individuals whom their own actions had convicted, to those assumed to be its authors and instigators, it struck many as remarkable that the very men were thus put out of the way from whom the most valuable information might have been anticipated. Thus, on receipt of the news, Sir E. Hoby writes to Sir Thomas Edmunds, Ambassador at Brussels,³ "Percy is dead, who it is thought by some particular men could have said more than any other." Dr. Goodman draws his inferences more at large:⁴ "Now here was a great oversight, that whereas there was no possibility that the traitors could resist, nor any hope that they could escape, neither did they kill any one man that did beset them, therefore a special charge should have been given that they should take the traitors alive, whereby that upon the rack they might discover the whole plot. Now they that beset them were permitted to

¹ *Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James*, 1658, p. 36.

² *Court of King James*, i. 102. [Edit. 1839.]

³ Nichols, *Progresses of James I.* i. 588.

⁴ *Court of King James*, i. 106.

shoot, and did kill Percy and Catesby, the two principal contrivers of the plot, and none but they were killed;¹ and some will not stick to report, that the great statesman sending to apprehend these traitors gave special charge and direction for Percy and Catesby, 'Let me never see them alive;' who it may be would have revealed some evil counsel given." It is, at least, a curious coincidence that, as is attested by a warrant in the State Paper Office, John Streete, who killed them, received ever after a pension of two shillings a day, a very large sum at the time,² "for that extraordinary service performed in killing those two traitors, Piercie and Catesbie, with two bulletts at one shott out of his muskett."³ Considering that the said traitors were armed with their swords only, and that Catesby had just before been scorched almost to death by an accidental explosion, the feat does not appear to have been exceptionally venturesome.

It must also be remembered, that there is not a little obscurity as to the manner in which the discovery of the Plot was made, this only appearing certain, that the official account was a fabrication, contrived for the purpose of concealing the truth. According to this story, the first intimation of danger was conveyed in an anonymous letter, written in a feigned hand, to Lord Monteagle,⁴ warning him to absent himself from the opening of Parliament, and indicating in ambiguous and incoherent terms the existence of a great peril; which warning, though it baffled others, the divine wisdom of the King at once interpreted aright.⁵ But setting aside sundry suspicious particulars in regard of the letter itself and Monteagle's reception of the same, it appears almost certain that the Minister knew of

¹ This is not quite accurate, for John and Christopher Wright were killed at the same time.

² According to Professor Thorold Rogers (*Agriculture and Prices*, v. 631), this was double the ordinary wage of a bricklayer or mason. Dr. Jessop (*One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 285, &c.) estimates the value of money in the time of James I. as roughly at least ten times what it now is.

³ Father Gerard's account states that the man who shot Percy and Catesby fired from behind a tree. The petition of John Streete for a reward for his services speaks of him as having "carried himself so resolute, not without the great danger of his life." (Lodge's *Illustrations*, iii. 172.)

⁴ The original is preserved in the State Paper Office. (*Gunpowder Plot Book*, No. 2.)

⁵ The Act of Parliament for the solemnization of the remembrance of the Plot says: "The Conspiracy would have turned to the utter ruin of this Kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God by inspiring the King's mind with a Divine spirit to interpret some dark places," &c. Cecil, however, writes to Sir Charles Cornwallis that both Lord Suffolk and himself on examination of the letter, had "concurred that was like to be attempted with powder at the opening of Parliament." (Nichols, *Progresses of James I.* i. 578.)

the Plot before the receipt of the letter, and that it was in fact expressly contrived to put the public on a wrong scent. That this was so can scarcely be doubted, and is now commonly admitted. There is found among the Cecil papers at Hatfield a strange anonymous letter, without date, but evidently referring to the Gunpowder Plot, of which it gives far clearer warning than is contained in that to Monteagle.¹ In his *Illustrations*, Lodge prints a letter of one Thomas Coe (December 20, 1605), concerning an intimation of the Plot previously conveyed to Cecil, on which he remarks, "It should seem that the famous letter transmitted to James by Lord Monteagle, . . . was not the only previous intelligence communicated to him of the Gunpowder Plot."² Mr. Jardine, while holding that the discovery occurred in some manner through the instrumentality of Monteagle, goes on to say "that it occurred in the mode declared by the authorized version of the story, may reasonably be doubted."³ Mr. Gardiner is of the same opinion.⁴ This view receives confirmation from many circumstances which serve to show that this nobleman's connection with the conspiracy was far closer than was allowed to appear, and that great efforts were made to conceal the truth regarding him. On occasion of the trial of the conspirators who had been taken alive, the Treasurer wrote to Sir Edward Coke, who was to conduct the prosecution, a letter of instructions as to the line he was to take,⁵ wherein, amongst other points, we find the following: "Lastly, and that you must not omit, you must deliver, in commendation of my Lord Mounteagle, words to show how sincerely he dealt, and how fortunately it proved that he was the instrument of so great a blessing as this was. To be short, sir, you can remember how well the King in his book did censure his lordship's part in it; from which sense you are not to vary, but *obiter* (as you best know how), to give some good echo of that particular action in that day of public trial

¹ This letter is printed in the Appendix to the Historical MSS. Commission's Third Report, p. 148.

² Vol. iii. 172.

³ *Gunpowder Plot*, p. 78.

⁴ *History of England*, i. 251. Amongst the Cecil papers at Hatfield is a letter written to Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators, dated June 11th, 1605, and relating ostensibly to an otter-hunt, which is endorsed by Cecil, "Lre. written to Sr. Everard Digby—Powder Treason." This was, however, presumably discovered after the failure of the Plot. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 6178, 8.)

⁵ Draft in the S.P.O., printed by Jardine, *State Trials*, ii. 120.

of these men ; *because it is so lewdly given out that he was once of this plot of powder, and afterwards betrayed it all to me.*"

In exact consonance with such instructions, we find that in the confession of Francis Tresham, which is preserved in the State Paper Office, among the list of names given by him, as those of persons privy to a previous treasonable undertaking, there is a blank where one name has been erased, but although great pains have been taken to obliterate it, the words, "The Lord Monteagle," can be clearly discerned.¹ A still more remarkable instance of such a device is afforded by a letter of another of the accomplices, Thomas Winter, who, relating the plans of himself and his fellow-desperadoes, mentions an important piece of information as having been received by them from Lord Monteagle, but a few days before that fixed for the execution of the Plot. The part of the sentence dealing with this information has entirely disappeared from the original document, though it is to be found in a contemporary copy.²

It is likewise worthy of note, that Monteagle, who was on terms of intimacy with several of the conspirators, appears to have been particularly familiar with Catesby and Percy, which lends at least some plausibility to the idea expressed by Mr. Bruce.³ "Catesby and Percy, probably the only persons who could have directly proved his active interference, were killed at Holbeach."

There is, in fact, a letter extant from Monteagle to Catesby which appears to some to furnish evidence that the former was actually one of the conspirators, though its terms are too vague and figurative to found any conclusive argument upon it, while it moreover bears no date.⁴ On the other hand, a serious objection to the theory of his complicity is raised by the statement of Faukes, that Percy pleaded for a warning to be sent to Monteagle before the catastrophe, and that Catesby opposed a similar suggestion when made by Tresham, Monteagle's brother-in-law ; but this is again counterbalanced by the magnitude of the reward assigned to Monteagle for his service,

¹ Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, ii. 139.

² The original is at Hatfield, the copy in the British Museum. See *Archæologia*, xxix. p. 103. It is remarkable that the version of this letter in the "King's Book" appears to have been printed from this copy, but omits the same words as are wanting in the original.

³ *Archæologia*, xxviii. 425.

⁴ It is printed by Mr. Bruce, *Archæologia*, xxviii. 422. Mr. Jardine (*Ibid.* xxix. 80—95) gives his reasons for dissenting from the belief that it refers to the Plot.

an annuity of £500 for life, and £200 a year to him and his heirs for ever, which is quite inexplicable unless the part he had played was a more important one than the handing over of a letter, which, as we have seen, probably conveyed no news. If this were all he did, it would hardly appear more remarkable an action than that of John Streete in killing the chief conspirators.

There is besides considerable mystery as to Tresham, whose name is so closely connected with Monteagle's in these transactions, for the mysterious letter received by the latter is almost universally attributed to him. His name was omitted from the first proclamation issued for the apprehension of the conspirators, though it seems certain that his share in the design must have been known; and whereas, after Catesby and Percy, he was perhaps the most important witness, it is another unfortunate mischance that he died in the Tower before trial. His death was attributed to poison, "by the Catholics," says Mr. Jardine,¹ but certainly not by them alone, for Dr. Goodman² cites the authority of "Butler, the great physician of Cambridge," to that effect.

To complicate the question still farther, a fresh claimant has lately been discovered for the honour of having disclosed the Plot. On the back of a portrait, painted by Cornelius Jansen, recently discovered at Moreton, in Devon, the seat of Sir George Stucley, stands the following inscription: "Lord Arundell—it was he who imparted to my friend (and one of the conspirators, Sir Henry Neville) the dreadful intentions of blowing up the King and Parliament."³

These circumstances, to which sundry others might be added, are certainly calculated to arouse a suspicion that there are dark corners in the history of the Plot, where light has not yet been thrown, and probably will never be, and it is not incredible that, as tradition asserts, King James used to describe November 5th as "Cecil's holiday." It is not, however, my intention to do more than indicate their existence, nor is it necessary for my purpose to lay any stress upon the inferences they suggest. Putting aside all that is matter of surmise and conjecture, assuming that the conspiracy was genuine, detected

¹ *Gunpowder Plot*, 127.

² *Court of King James*, 107.

³ This portrait, now in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk, is believed to represent Thomas Earl of Arundel, not Thomas first Lord Arundell of Wardour, though the latter is mentioned as a suspicious person in connection with the Plot. (State Papers, *Dom. James I.* xvi. 37; G.P.B. No. 48, B.)

only just in time to avert a terrible calamity, still it remains true that its discovery was for the Government the most opportune of windfalls, affording them a means of justifying, as they could not otherwise have done, the policy on which their heart was set; that they eagerly seized upon the weapon it put into their hands, in order to impress upon the public mind a calumnious fable; that for this purpose, leaving the true authors of the Plot in comparative obscurity, they made it their first object to vilify and destroy innocent men; and that, in pursuit of this, they sacrificed every principle of justice and truth.

In reviewing the evidence which establishes such a conclusion, it is obvious that we cannot here enter fully into the mass of details of which it is composed; but as these have been so often scrutinized and sifted, it will be sufficient for our purpose to give our attention to those points which have been recognized as crucial, and in many instances, perhaps in most, we shall be able to estimate their true bearing by the testimony of witnesses of acknowledged competence, who moreover cannot be accused of partiality to the Catholic cause.

We have, in the first place, to endeavour to realize the circumstances of the time, in order to understand the origin and nature of the Plot, and likewise the position of the Government.

As is well known, the laws against recusants, passed in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, were of extreme severity, so severe indeed that, in the words of a Protestant historian,¹ "their effect was to withdraw from a large proportion—probably a majority—of the inhabitants of England the common rights and liberties of Englishmen, and to place all persons who adhered to the ancient religion, though loyal to the existing Government, in a state of unmerited suffering and persecution." The same writer thus proceeds to sketch the effect of these enactments: By these laws, Roman Catholics were not only forbidden to use the rites and ceremonies of their own faith, but were required to attend upon the services of a Church which, if conscientious and consistent, they were bound to regard as heretical and damnable. If they refused, or forbore to come to a Protestant church on the Sabbath, they were liable to a penalty of £20 for every lunar month during which they absented themselves.² . . . Every priest saying Mass was punishable by a forfeiture of

¹ Jardine, *Gunpowder Plot*, p. 5.

² That is, £260 per annum.

two hundred marks,¹ and every person hearing it, by a forfeiture of one hundred marks, and both were to be imprisoned a year, and the priest till the fine was paid. . . . All Jesuits, seminary and other priests, ordained since the beginning of the Queen's reign, were banished the realm, under pain of death as in case of treason, and all persons receiving or assisting such priests were declared guilty of a capital felony. Any person professing the Popish religion, and convicted of absenting himself from the Established Church, was termed a "Popish recusant convict," and might be committed to prison without bail until he conformed, and if he did not within three months submit and repair to church, he must abjure the realm under pain of death as a felon without benefit of clergy.²

Such being their condition, it is not wonderful that the Catholics should eagerly consider the question of the succession to the Crown, when, at what could not be a distant day, the Queen's life should come to a close. Much stress was afterwards laid on various intrigues and negotiations in which Catholics bore a part during the last years of Elizabeth, having for their object a different settlement of the question of the succession from that which was actually adopted, such conduct being quoted as a proof of their inveterate disloyalty. The charge is grossly unfair. It must in the first place be remembered that, as we have heard, they probably formed a majority of the nation, and they certainly believed themselves to do so.³ They had therefore a clear right to have a voice in the matter. Moreover, though we are apt to forget the fact, there was the greatest uncertainty as to who should be considered the rightful heir, an uncertainty which arose in great measure from the Queen's invincible repugnance to any mention of the subject. There were more than a dozen claimants for the throne, and amongst these, the case of the King of Scots was theoretically not the strongest. As Professor Thorold Rogers remarks, "for a year after his accession James, if Acts of Parliament are to go for anything, was not legally King, for the succession had been settled on the descendants of the Duke of Suffolk,"⁴ the Scotch line having been specially excluded by Henry VIII.

¹ £133 6s. 8d. See what has been said above as to the relative value of money.

² This brief and very inadequate summary may be supplemented from Mr. Healy Thompson's excellent little treatise, *Before and After the Gunpowder Plot*. (Catholic Truth Society.)

³ Jardine, p. 8.

⁴ *Agriculture and Prices*, v. 5.

It is likewise most worthy of note that what was imputed as a crime to Catholics, and more than that, was done by the very men who made it a charge against them. The Earl of Essex declared on his trial (1601) that, in his hearing and that of Lord Southampton, Cecil had declared the Infanta of Spain to be the rightful heir to the throne. Afterwards the same statesman, to secure his tenure of power when the Queen's life should close, entered into negotiations with James, although he knew that Elizabeth, whose trusted counsellor he was, would regard such a proceeding as an act of treason to herself, and accordingly so effectually concealed the part he was playing that for more than a century afterwards it was never suspected. Finally, after his death it was discovered that, while acting as the King's all-powerful Minister, he had been in receipt of a pension from the Court of Madrid in return for intelligence supplied.¹

As a matter of fact, however, the Catholics as a body stood by James. The memory of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, was dear to them, and they confidently hoped that her son would not be forgetful of their sufferings for her sake. More than this, they had actually sent various envoys to Edinburgh, to sound the King on the subject, one of them being Thomas Percy, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention, and these had brought back solemn assurances on the part of James that the Catholics might count upon toleration at his hands. It is true that he afterwards denied having made such promises, but it is quite clear that no credence can be given to his denial.² As moreover appears, an impression was somehow produced on the mind of the Pope himself that there was a hope of the King's conversion.

When the crisis at last arrived, and the Scottish King entered without difficulty upon what had seemed so doubtful an inheritance, it at first appeared that all these hopes were to be realized. Catholics of position were graciously summoned to Court, and were assured that their recusancy should no longer be held for a contempt. For two years the fines for recusancy were remitted, so that whereas in the last year of the late Queen £10,333 had been paid into the Exchequer on this account, in the first year of James was but £300, and in the second year £200. Moreover, titles of honour and lucrative

¹ Gardiner, *History of England*, ii. 216.

² See Jardine, p. 16.

employments were bestowed upon Catholics, to the grievous displeasure of their more inveterate opponents.

But the golden dream of peace and tranquillity was not allowed to last. Already, at the first entry of the new monarch into England, a report was spread which filled those who heard it with alarm, that James, witnessing the enthusiasm with which he was everywhere received, had exclaimed in his native dialect, "Na, na, guyd faith, we'll no need the Papists noo." For a short time longer, however, he remained in a state of indecision, having not yet sufficiently weighed the several interests and ascertained the precise condition of the various parties within the realm. But as soon as he felt himself firmly seated ominous symptoms began to appear. The French Ambassador reported that the King had justified the appointment of a Catholic to a seat in the Privy Council, by saying that by this tame duck he hoped to take many wild ones; and further, that at table he openly maintained that the Pope was Antichrist. A little later Sir Edward Coke, pleading in open court, declared that the eyes of the Catholics should sooner fall out than they should ever see a toleration for the Romish superstition, the King having publicly declared that he would lose his crown and life before ever he would alter his religion: a sufficiently remarkable declaration when we remember how he had just changed it. A few months later, James assured his Council that he never had any intention of granting toleration to Papists; that if he thought his sons would condescend to any such course he would debar them from the succession; and that his mitigation of fines in regard of Catholics was in consideration of their not having resisted his coming in, and to give them a year of probation to conform themselves, which not having wrought its effect, the laws against them should be fortified and made stronger—saving for the shedding of blood, from which he had a natural aversion.

The blow thus threatened soon fell. All the laws against Jesuits and priests were ordered to be put in due and exact execution. Two-thirds of the estates of recusants, and all their moveable goods, were directed to be seized in satisfaction of the old fine of £20 per lunar month, all arrears of which were summarily demanded. These, in some instances, amounted to very large sums, and recusants of property who had managed to evade payment during the last years of Elizabeth were at once reduced to beggary. Those who might have paid the fines

from month to month as they accrued, were utterly ruined by the accumulation of penalties now rigorously exacted at a single payment. As if this were not enough, it was discovered that the same luckless recusants supplied a convenient means of satisfying the needy Scots who had followed the King southwards, and who having, in the excess of their jubilation over such unlooked-for good fortune, riotously squandered their little substance, were clamorous for some token of the royal bounty. To such as these opulent Catholics were farmed out. There still exist in the State Paper Office returns made in language sufficiently indicative of their real nature, being "Notes of such recusants as His Majesty hath granted liberty to his servants *to make profit of*, by virtue of that power which His Majesty hath, to refuse the payment of £20 *per mensem*, and in lieu thereof to extend three parts of their lands:" in one instance as many as ten opulent victims being assigned to one person.¹ In consequence of all this, it is not wonderful to find bitter complaints that "the times of Elizabeth, although most cruel, were the mildest and happiest in comparison with those of James."²

Two incidents must be mentioned in order to give some idea of the miserable plight to which Catholics found themselves reduced. Lord Montague, rising in his place in the House of Lords, warmly expressed his feelings in regard of the policy which was being pursued. The House forthwith committed him to the Fleet Prison.³ Mr. Pound, an aged Catholic gentleman of Lancashire, finding that things threatened to follow there so ill a course, presented a petition to the King, complaining generally of the persecution of Catholics, and in particular of certain violent utterances of His Majesty's judges on occasion of the assizes at Manchester. His language was respectful, and while he stated the facts as he knew them, he merely prayed for a commission to examine into their truth. Nevertheless, he was forthwith arrested, carried before the Privy Council, and prosecuted by the Attorney General in the

¹ For particulars see Lingard (Edit. 1883), vii. 39, and Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iv. App. ix. p. lxxiv. where the list is given in full.

² Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, iii. 103, quoted by Mr. Healy Thompson, to whom we must again refer the reader for a fuller description of the sufferings inflicted. See also Goodman's *Court of King James*, i. 100.

³ In a letter (S.P.O. *Dom. James I.* viii. 83) addressed to Sir Thomas Challoner, as an information concerning the sentiments of the "trayterous Papistes," it is mentioned that they greatly applaud a sentiment uttered by Montague, "My honour, lande, and lyfe are deare, but my sowle dearer."

Star Chamber for contempt. There he was found guilty and sentenced to be imprisoned in the Fleet during the King's pleasure; to stand in the pillory both at Lancaster and Westminster, and to pay a fine of £1000. He escaped, by a majority of two voices only, the further barbarity of being nailed to the pillory and having his ears cut off.

It was inevitable that such a course of oppression, especially in such circumstances, and exercised towards a large and important section of the nation, must produce lawless violence on the part of those who smarted under it, and Sir Everard Digby, afterwards one of the Powder Plot conspirators, boldly wrote to the powerful Minister, Cecil, warning him of the consequences of his policy. "If," says Digby, "your lordship and the State think it fit to deal severely with the Catholics, within brief there will be massacres, rebellions, and desperate attempts against the King and State. For it is a general received reason among Catholics that there is not that expecting and suffering course now to be run that was in the Queen's time, who was the last of her line, and last in expectance to run violent courses against Catholics; for then it was hoped that the King that now is would have been at least free from persecuting, as his promise was before his coming into this realm, and as divers his promises have been since his coming. All these promises every man sees broken."

The extraordinary shape taken by the outbreak, thus prophesied as inevitable, was due to the remarkable qualities of the man who was the prime mover in the whole matter. This was Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good family and estate, who was evidently endowed, in a degree quite unusual, with the power of attaching other men to himself, and by the force of character of inducing them to follow him into courses which they would of themselves never have imagined. His principal confederate was Thomas Percy, a relative and officer of the Earl of Northumberland, and, as the documents of the State Paper Office bear witness, it was to him that the Government, on the first discovery of the Plot, attributed its contrivance. It is unnecessary to speak in detail of the other members of the conspiracy, thirteen in all, who from first to last were acquainted with its existence, but it must be observed that Guy, or Guido, Faukes, though he beyond the rest attained so unenviable a notoriety, was in no sense a leader amongst them. His was not the head that designed, or at any stage directed the enterprise;

but his hand was to execute what had been planned and prepared, he being chosen for the office on account of his reckless intrepidity. With one exception they were all gentlemen, and some, men of considerable wealth. This exception was Thomas Bates, an old servant of Catesby, whom his master admitted into the secret, as it seemed that he already suspected something of the truth. Of him we shall presently hear more. With regard to the conspirators as a body may be cited the words of Professor Gardiner, who cannot be accused of sympathy with their cause :

"Atrocious as the whole undertaking was, great as must have been the moral obliquity of their minds before they could have conceived such a project, there was at least nothing mean or selfish about them. They boldly risked their lives for what they honestly believed to be the cause of God and of their country. Theirs was a crime which it would never have entered into the heart of any man to commit who was not raised above the low aims of the ordinary criminal."¹

Turning from the men to their design, it is impossible to find terms too strong for its condemnation. Not only was the deed which they contemplated one of barbarous atrocity, but it was utterly senseless, and could by no possible means have produced the result which they desired. It was not, to be sure, so utterly novel in its nature as many seemed to imagine, for, to omit sundry other instances which might be cited, the father of King James himself, the Earl of Darnley, had been murdered by a similar explosion at the Kirk o' Fields, with regard to which crime it is a curious circumstance that Cecil's father, Lord Burghley, clearly believed the Regent Murray to have been a participator, whom he nevertheless continued to subsidize.² But in the case we are considering, beyond the wholesale destruction which the conspirators designed to work upon their enemies, and with them on divers of their friends, what hope had they of doing anything which might conduce to an amelioration of the condition of Catholics? Their further plans were mere frantic folly. They by no means contemplated a revolution, and proposed to seat one of King James' children on the throne. Prince Henry, the heir apparent, whom they would by preference have selected, would probably accompany

¹ *History of England* (1883), i. 263.

² List, in Cecil's handwriting, of the supposed subscribers to the Band of Ainsley's Supper. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6178.

his father to the Parliament House and perish with him. Therefore they were resolved to attempt a seizure of the person of the Duke of York, the future Charles I., whom they would proclaim. But it seemed there might be difficulties even as to this, as the Duke being well guarded, so they were prepared, in case he should be beyond their reach, to be satisfied with his sister Elizabeth,¹ afterwards Queen of Bohemia, or failing her, with the infant Princess Mary, who had it in her favour that she was English born. They hoped to rally to the cause of the monarch, elected in this haphazard fashion, a sufficient force to overpower the persecuting party, disorganized as this would be after the catastrophe that had occurred, and under the rule they had set up in fire and slaughter, to ensure an era of peace and happiness.

Some of the conspirators, when the scheme was first broached, urged as an objection that if they failed great would be the scandal caused. It does not seem to have occurred to them, says Mr. Gardiner, that the scandal would be at least as great if they succeeded. The same writer well depicts the character of their schemes, when he says that, with a child to proclaim as Sovereign, a little money, and a few horses, these sanguine dreamers fancied that they would have the whole of England at their feet.

From what has been said, it appears that we may fairly sum up the judgment which the history of the Plot suggests, in the words of Cardinal Bellarmine:² "I excuse not the crime, I loathe unnatural murders, I execrate conspiracies, but no one can deny that provocation was given, that the men were driven to despair."

But the party in power was not willing to see in the project only the desperate attempt of a handful of individuals goaded to madness by their sufferings, and lost no time in endeavouring to fasten the responsibility on the Church itself, by incriminating such as from their official position might be taken for her authorized representatives. It was only thus that the occurrence could be made to serve an excuse for a rigorous persecution of the whole body of English Catholics as being convicted of disloyalty.

¹ In one of Sir Everard Digby's letters printed by Bishop Barlow of Lincoln, in 1678, occurs the following passage: "If the Duke had not been in the house, there was there a certain way laid for the possessing him; but in regard of the assurance, they should have been there; therefore the greatest of our business stood in possessing the Lady Elizabeth."

² Reply to the King's *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus*.

That it had been already resolved so to treat them, is sufficiently evident from the sketch already given of the measures adopted in their regard, but will become still more so when we examine how the weapon furnished by the Gunpowder Plot was worked. With the consideration of this, it may be said, that our study of the conspiracy begins, for it deals with the only important portion of the history to which any vital interest attaches. But as it introduces us to an ample field of investigation, we must defer entering upon it till another occasion.

J. G.

Mediæval Choristers.

THE question is often asked: "When did the Offices of the Church cease to be performed by canonical singers?" It is certain that in primitive times choristers were admitted to an order of *Cantores* or *Psalmistæ*, and thus in a most real way set apart for the chanting of the daily service. It is equally certain that the day came when this office was no longer bestowed, either apart from, or in connection with, the tonsure and the minor orders. But whatever may be the exact date when the *Psalmistæ*, as such, ceased to exist, it is clear that the mediæval choir-boy had much in common with the canonical singers of the early Church. In by far the greater number of cases—some ecclesiologists say in every case—even the youngest members of the great choral establishments of cathedral and monastic churches, had received the first tonsure. They were, by excellence, the children of the Church, *pueri clerici*—"clerks of the third form." Apart from the choir-stall and school-bench, they had no duties, if we except the little services they rendered their masters, the Canons and Vicars of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. Such establishments were naturally very fitting for the training of children in the Church's chant; yet in this short sketch of the history of the singing-boy, we shall do well to seek him first of all in that true home of Church music, the Benedictine cloister.

The duties of the monastic choir-boy were numerous and heavy: Attendance at the full Office of the Church, including the rising at midnight for Matins and Lauds, is in itself no slight task; but when we call to mind the many extra offices and devotions of those times, such as the Seven Psalms and Litanies, the frequent chanting of the Office for the Dead, and, in some places at least, the Office of our Lady in addition to that of the day, we are compelled to admit that the youngster of the middle ages must have been made of sterner stuff than his modern representative. The schoolboy-chorister, in that well-known

passage from the *Dialogues of Ælfric*, runs glibly enough through the choral and scholastic duties of the day; he is entirely silent on the subject of recreation, though recreation was certainly granted to him. "To-day," he says, "I have done many things. This night, when I heard the bell, I arose from my bed and went to the church, and sang the night-song with the brethren; after that we sang the service of All Saints, and the morning Lauds; then followed Prime, and the Seven Psalms, and the Litanies, and the first Mass; then Tierce, and the Mass of the day [a High Mass, be it remembered]; then Sext; *and then we ate and drank*, and went to sleep, and rose again and sang None; and now we are here before thee, ready to hear what thou hast to say to us." That is, the boy had had some nine or ten hours of choral work, dinner at eleven or thereabouts, an hour's sleep, and then—afternoon schools! Following these duties would be Vespers and Compline, supper, and an exceedingly "early bed." The play-time was not excessive, yet there is plenty of evidence to prove that these pious lads had many a merry hour, and enjoyed the delights of many a "good day" with nineteenth century heartiness.

Rising to night-song was, doubtless, the bugbear of the ancient choir-boy. "Sometimes," says the child whose words we have just quoted, "I hear the bell, and rise myself; but sometimes the master arouseth me with his rod." Yet there are legends of devoted little boys who sometimes rose before their master, lighted the candles, tóiled the bells, and waited patiently on their knees in the chill choir until the slumbering monks "threw off dull sloth," and came, shamed and penitent, to their nightly task. The modern boy would doubtless condemn such priggishness, or else console himself with the reflection that "after all it was a long time ago, and probably not true."

But if the night office itself was a long and trying task—and we have no evidence to show that the early English chorister found it lengthy or wearisome—how would the modern choir-boy relish one of those long nights in the chapel adjoining the "dead man's chamber," such as we read of in the *Rites of Durham*: "The Monk, so soon as he sickneth, is conveyed, with all his Appurtenances, or Furniture, from his own Chamber in the Dortoir, to another in the Farmery, or Infirmary, where he might have fire, and more convenient keeping; for that they were allowed no fire in the Dortoir (dormitory). And at such time as it appeared to them that accompanied him in his

sickness that he was not likely to live, they sent for the Prior's chaplain, who staid with him till he yielded up the ghost. Then the Barber was sent for, whose office it is to put down the cloathes, and bare him, and to put on his feet Socks and Boots, and so to wind him in his Cowl and Habit. Then is he from thence immediately carried to a Chamber, called the Dead-man's-Chamber, in the said Farmery, there to remain till night. The Prior's Chaplain, as soon as he is removed, and convey'd into the Dead-man's-Chamber, locks the Chamber-door where he died, and carrieth the key to the Prior. At night he is removed from the Dead-man's-Chamber into S. Andrew's Chappel, adjoining to the said Chamber, and Farmery, there to remain till eight of the clock in the morning, the Chappel being a place only ordained for solemn Devotion. The night before the Funeral two Monks, either in Kinred or Kindness the nearest to him, were appointed by the Prior to be especial Mourners, sitting all night on their knees at the dead Corps' feet. Then were the Children of the Ambrie, sitting on their knees in Stalls, or Seats, on either side of the Corps, appointed to reade David's Psalter all night over, incessantly, till the said hour of eight in the morning."

It should be borne in mind that this recitation of the entire Psalter was quite independent of the *Dirge*, or Office for the Dead, which took place at eight in the morning, following immediately upon the night-long watching, and at which in all probability the boys assisted. The scene in the little old chapel adjoining the dead man's chamber must have been weird and striking enough, and we may imagine how the face of the dead monk, seen only in the flickering light of a few tall candles, alternately scared and fascinated the children of the choir. But though, as in the case of the grave-digger in *Hamlet*, custom might make it for them "a property of easiness," the "sitting all night on their knees" must have been a weariness to the flesh scarcely lessened by custom and habit. Yet "the holy memory," so touchingly spoken of by some writers, would here find itself holily exercised, since it is probable that the boys would not be provided with psalters, and certain that the recitation included every one of the hundred-and-fifty psalms, from *Beatus vir* to *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*. In the great establishment of St. Riquier there were at least three hundred monks and one hundred boys: the number of psalters was exactly seven.

As mention has been made of the children of the ambrie (almonry), it may be well to suggest that these boys were not always, and in every place, identical with Cathedral or Abbey choristers, although, naturally enough, the former were taught the music of the church, and were available for such extra functions as processions and the vigils of the dead. The number of singing children seems always to have been limited. At Durham itself we find mention of "six Quiristers to be learnt to sing, for the maintenance of God's Divine Service in the Abbey church; which children had their meat and drink at the House-charge amongst the Children of the Ambrie." The *Rites of Durham* leaves us in no doubt as to the status of the latter. "There were certain Children, called the Children of the Almery,¹ who only were brought up in Learning, and relieved with the Alms, and Benevolence of the whole House; having their meat and Drink in a Loft on the north-side of the Abbey-Gates. . . . And the said Children went daily to School to the Farmary-School without the Abbey-Gates; which School was Founded by the Priors of the said Abbey, and at the charges of the said House. . . . And the meat and drink of the fore-said Children was what the Master of the Novices, and the Monks had left, and reserved; and it was carried in at a door adjoyning to the great Kitchin-window, into a little vault at the West-end of the Frater-house, like unto a Pantry, called the Covey, and had a window within it, where one or two of the Children did receive their meat and drink of the said Clerk [their School-master], out of the said Covey, and carried it to the Almery, or Loft; which Clerk did wait upon them every meal, to see they kept good order." From this and similar evidence to be gathered from the statute-books of other Cathedrals, Walcott evidently errs in saying that "at Canterbury, Durham, and St. Paul's, the Boys of the Almonry were identical with what the French call 'the Children of the Choir,' or 'Children of the Albs.'" At old St. Paul's we find that the almoner was responsible not only for the board, lodging, and clothing of the choristers, but also for their religious and secular education; although he had the assistance of the chancellor in the teaching of grammar, and that of the master of song for their instruction in singing and the art of "playing upon the organs." Very generally, according to Dr. Burton, the almoner

¹ We quote from the original edition. In earlier portions of the book the word is spelt *ambrie*.

had charge of the singing-boys in the Cathedral Churches served by secular canons, as well as in the nine Cathedral Priories of the Benedictines.¹ There were, however, exceptional arrangements in some establishments, for at Chichester and Hereford we find the succentor invested with full power over the members of the choir, while at St. David's, the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross, Crediton, and Palermo in Sicily, the precentor had complete control of the choristers, and was actually at the head of the chapter.

But confining ourselves for the present to the Cathedral Priories of the Benedictines, we must remind our readers of what may be called the two distinct periods of Benedictine guardianship of boys. The beautiful description given by Newman in his *Historical Sketches*, of the life of the baby monks of St. Benedict—"the little beings of three or four or five years old, who were brought in the arms of those who gave them life to accept at their bidding the course in which that life was to run"—can only be applied to a period earlier than that of which we are treating. The second period begins almost at the very end of the twelfth century. Yet the sons of St. Benedict always had two classes of boys under their care, viz., those who aspired to the religious habit, and those who lived in the monastery, or in its precincts, for the sake of the education there given. In the thirteenth century, the number of extra-monastic schools began to increase so rapidly that, by the middle of the fourteenth century, we find a poor-school of some description in almost every parish. When we consider that the Church's chant was taught, not only in the cathedral and conventual schools, but also in the public and poor schools throughout the land, we see how comparatively easy was the forming or, what was sometimes quite as important, the feeding and supplementing of church choirs. In processions, numbers of children were always prepared to sing, and that without the necessity of reading either words or music, since from their infancy both psalm and chant had been imprinted upon their memory. At Mass and Vespers they would naturally find themselves at home; but it is scarcely too much to say that at a period when many of the faithful assisted even at the night offices, both young and old were capable of a far more

¹ These Cathedral Priories were at Canterbury, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, Coventry, Bath, and Durham. Westminster, York, St. Albans, Gloucester, and Peterborough were Abbey Churches.

active participation in canticle and psalm than some of their educated descendants of our own time. Certainly "the holy memory," was a most precious possession for the children of the middle ages.

Of all the Cathedral establishments governed by secular canons, none can be more representative than that of Salisbury. As is well known, the "Sarum use" was far more widely followed than the uses of York or Lincoln, Hereford or Bangor. It has even been asserted that, from the year 1300, and owing to the influence of Philippa, Duchess of Lancaster, the rites of Salisbury were universally followed in Portugal. In the Cathedral of St. Osmund, then, we find a body of priests and clerics and boys—forming one great religious family, it is true, but by no means living together as an ecclesiastical community. The Bishop had of course, his separate dwelling, as also the dignitaries of the chapter, while, in many cases at least, the younger clerics and the boys of the choir acted as servants to the resident canons. A busier life than that of a Sarum choir-boy it would be difficult to imagine. They were bound to be in choir at Vespers, Compline, Prime, and High Mass, daily; at the vigils of the dead as often as they were chanted, and at all trentals and anniversaries. If we remember that these dirges for the dead were exceedingly numerous, and that the office chant was generally both monotonous and slow; that the boys were compelled to keep up an unbroken regularity in their attendance both at the song school and the grammar school; and that in the intervals they did the errands of the canons, and waited upon them at table—we begin to wonder if the mediæval youngster had any time at all for play. We may, however, be quite sure that he had, and that for the most part his life was a very happy one. His duties varied with the season of the year, and the feasts of the Church brought him daintier fare, and additional hours for sport. He attended chapter every day after Prime, with the canons and clerics, and looked forward, either with apprehension or pleasure, to the change of office he dreaded or desired. Some offices appear to have been changed from day to day, but the weekly table with its list of acolytes, thurifers, and cantors, was always read out at Sunday morning chapter by the boy hebdomadary. Now and then certain boys would miss particular offices, as for instance attendance at Compline, for which only two or three choristers were "tabled" for the week. The tablet itself was of

wax, and was left hanging in the chapter-house from Sunday to Saturday.

If, as it would seem, the Sarum boy was not regularly bound to the night offices like his compatriots in the Benedictine Abbeys and Cathedral Priories, it is evident that on special days his attendance was required at Matins, since the Sarum rite prescribes several little points of ritual for which the boys were employed. An example of this is the singing of the eighth responsory on the feast of All Saints, when "five boys in surplices, their heads veiled with amices, and each of them bearing a lighted taper," stood at the east end of the choir and chanted: *Audivi vocem de cælo dicentem; Venite omnes virgines sapientissimæ*. This representation of the five virgins in the Gospel was peculiar to the Sarum ritual.

Again, in Advent and from Septuagesima to Lent, the boy appointed to sing the responsory was bound to be present at the hours of Terce and Sext. During Lent he was bound to attend Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, for the same purpose. The hebdomadary boy always read the first Lesson at Matins, and held the book of the Collects for the priest both at Matins and Vespers.

As we have said, the choir-boys attended the daily Chapter, which, just as in the Cathedral Priories of the Regulars, followed immediately upon the Office of Prime. "Let the boys," says the Register of St. Osmund, "whether they be on the foundation or not, stand before the others in the area on either side of the pulpit arranged in order. In the first place let a boy read the Lesson from the Martyrology, without *Jube Domine*, and without *Tu autem Domine*, in a surplice. The Lesson finished, let him declare any obits, if such there be. The priest standing behind then says, *Animæ eorum et animæ omnium fidelium per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace*. Then let him say: *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini*, &c., and the rest which belongs to the Hour, which finished, let the boy reader begin the other Lesson with *Jube Domine*, and finish with *Tu autem*, &c. . . . When the Lesson is finished, let the boy leave the pulpit and read the table."

The coveted office, no doubt, at Salisbury, was that of the acolyte who, at the Epistle of the Mass, carried the chalice and paten from the sacristy to the altar, a custom, it need scarcely be said, quite peculiar to the Sarum use. This duty, and the

office of thurifer and lector of the Chapter, were performed by the senior boys. In the thirteenth century the full number of choir-boys was fourteen, including the acolytes and thurifers. At Exeter the number was the same ; but at St. Paul's, London, there seems to have been a small army of choir-children, of whom eight were called cardinals, and stood two at each corner of the choir. These boy-cardinals, so-called, were distinct from the cardinal-vicars who sat one at each side of the choir, and whose business it was to regulate the attendance and behaviour of the singers, and to report any offences to the Dean and Chapter.

Perhaps it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the three ranks, or rows, of priests, clerics, and boys, always found on either side of the choir in Cathedral establishments of the middle ages. The upper row, or "form," as it was called, was occupied by the dean, subdean, chancellor, archdeacons, and the canons, each according to his dignity, reckoning from the dean. Sometimes, indeed, vicars and deacons were found there "by reason of age or virtue ;" usually, however, the second form was reserved for deacons, minor canons, and subdeacons. In the third, or lowest seat, were the boys ranged according to their age, a canon taking precedence whenever it happened that a tonsured choir-boy was raised to that dignity. Rulers of the choir, or cantors, occupied seats at the western extremity of the choir. These officials appear to have been dignified ecclesiastics, and, just as the officiating ministers, to have worn copes of silk.

"Black copes down to the feet, and surplices beneath them which were not to be longer than the cope," seems to have been the choir-dress at St. Paul's, at Exeter, and at Salisbury ; but the boys were generally vested in alb and amice, or in the short surplices which even in the thirteenth century were known as *cotte*. *Rochette* are also named in the Sarum inventory of 1222, and were shortened albs, just as the *cotte* were surplices reaching to the waist or a little below it.¹ For acolytes, both these garments were sometimes made without sleeves. It is worthy of note that, according to Mr. Chambers, to whom we

¹ "The surplice was in truth a modification of the alb, which itself in fact also was a surplice, but tighter to the body, or with closely fitting sleeves ; and both names are often used indifferently for the same garment in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." (*Divine Worship in England*, By John D. Chambers, Recorder of Salisbury.)

are indebted for some interesting details on these points, "the minor clergy in the Cotton MS. (*circa* 1350) are vested, some in purple, some in scarlet cassocks, beneath their surplices. The boy with the holy water ministering to the priest in the Buckland Missal, A.D. 1395, of Sarum use, has a scarlet cassock, with a scarlet hood over his surplice." The black woollen choral copes were large, full flowing cloaks, opening downward from the breast, and sewn up as far as the throat, around which was a hood. Boys were not allowed to run through the streets of the city in their choir-dress; probably, however, the prohibition only extended to the linen garment, whether surplice or alb.

It must not be forgotten that although the smaller village church and town chapels could not boast of anything like a complete choral establishment, the number of so-called collegiate churches was very considerable. Nearly every provincial town had its parochial church served by a College of priests, assisted by a fixed number of clerics and singing boys. There are, indeed, hundreds of small towns in England and Wales the churches of which were, in pre-Reformation times, collegiate—towns that in our days are little more than large country villages. Thus at Carantock in the deanery of Pyder, diocese of Exeter, we find an establishment consisting of a dean, eight canons, and seven vicars. At Holy Cross, Crediton, in 1333, we hear of the complaints of Bishop Stapeldon that the choral service was not performed with suitable dignity and solemnity. He therefore appointed four young clerks, *vocem virilem habentes*, who should always assist in surplices. Further, one of the four clerks was to instruct four younger persons, *vocem puerilem habentes*, and be responsible for their religious education. In connection with the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Ottery, there were a warden, minister, precentor, and sacristan, who ranked as canons; four minor canons; eight vicars choral in priest's orders; one priest to have charge of the parishioners; one priest to celebrate the early morning service, one priest to be attached to our Lady's chapel; eight clerks of the second form, two other clerks for carrying the holy water in processions and at benedictions; eight singing boys; and a master of grammar. "All these forty members of the College," says Dr. Oliver, "were obliged to assist at the daily and nightly office in their proper habits. The choir-boys were to receive five pence weekly, and six shillings and eight pence per annum—

Absence from Holy Mass and the Hours rendered them liable to farthing fines."

Smaller communities than the above-mentioned Collèges, were not unfrequently called archpresbyteries. Thus we constantly meet with instances of four, five, six, or more priests living in community with two or three clerics who acted as their assistants in choir and at the altar, and served at the parsonage table. An excellent instance of this is found at Haccombe, where Bishop Grandisson endowed a living for six priests, the Superior of whom was called the archpriest.¹ They were daily to sing the Canonical Hours in choir besides two High Masses, one of the Office for the day and one in honour of our Blessed Lady. A third Mass was to be said, but not sung except at dirges and anniversaries. They were required to lodge and board under the same roof, and their dress was to resemble that of the vicars of Exeter Cathedral. Each received a salary of two marks per annum. A stipend of ten shillings with board and lodging was provided for two clerks, "sufficiently skilled in reading and singing," who were to help in the church and serve at the presbytery. All were required to assist the Superior in the cure of souls. Precisely similar institutions were to be found at Penkwell, Beerferrers, and Whitchurch, in the same diocese.

Perhaps no account, however brief, of the history of mediæval choristers would be complete without some reference to the choral establishments of the Chapels Royal. Apparently Richard III. was the most musical of all pre-Reformation Kings, and most liberal to the singers and players both of secular and religious music. Not content with stipends and gratuities, he did not hesitate to confer annuities upon singers and minstrels deserving the royal favour. No doubt his method of increasing the size and improving the quality of his choirs, is open to objection. The impressment of boys for singing purposes may have been practised in earlier times, but it was certainly the last representative of the House of York who empowered John Melynek, one of the gentlemen of the royal chapel, "to take and seize for the King, not only children, but also all such singing *men* expert in the science of music, as he could find and think able to do the King's service, within all places of the realm, as well cathedral churches, colleges, chapels,

¹ This title should not be confused with a similar one frequently given to rural deans in fourteenth and fifteenth century documents.

houses of religion, and all other franchised or exempt places, or elsewhere." This highly reprehensible custom seems to have continued, at least in connection with boys, until late in the seventeenth century. Chamberlayne, in his *Present State of England* (temp. Charles II.), refers to it as a matter of course, only remarking that "the child of a Gentleman brought up to singing, cannot be taken without the Parents and Friends' consent to serve in the King's Chappel, as others may." That such impressment was, in itself, an abuse of power, must be readily admitted; that it led to all sorts of violation of individual rights may be gathered from a number of well-authenticated instances. In the reign of Henry VIII., Thomas Tusser, later the author of *Five Hundred Points of Husbandry*, was forcibly taken from the Collegiate Church of Wallingford, where he was a choir-boy and a scholar of Wallingford School, and carried to St. Paul's Cathedral. In the reign of Elizabeth this system of impressment had become an intolerable evil. The kidnapping of boys by men who called themselves the Queen's agents, but who in reality were in the employ of owners of London play-houses, constituted one of the dangers of the London streets for country lads who had been sent to town for purposes of education. Fortunately the seizing of a boy who turned out to be the son of a "person of quality," brought some of these scoundrels into the law-courts, and for a time this nefarious business was checked.

Considering, however, the kindly treatment they received, and the dignity and importance of their office, few boys, we imagine, would object to the genuine impressment and the Court life which it involved. From one of the house-books of Edward IV. we get the following glimpse into the daily life of a Court-chorister: "Children of the Chapelle viij, founden by the King's prive cofferes for all that longeth to their aperelle by the hands and oversyght of the Deane, or by the Mastere of Songe assigned to teache them, which Mastere is appointed by the Deane, chosen one of the nombere of the fellowshipe of chappelle after rehearsed, and to draw them to other schools after the form of Sacotti,¹ as well as in Songe in Orgaines and other. Thes children eate in the Hall dayly at the Chappell board, nexte the Yeomane of Vestery; taking amongeste them for lyverye dayle for brekefaste and all nighe, two loves, one

¹ Burney thinks this was Franco Sachetti, poet, musician, and friend of Dante 1310—1390.

messe of greate meate, ij galones ale; and for wintere seasonē iiij candles piche, iij talsheids, and lyttere for their pallets of the Serjante Usher, and carrydge of the King's coote for the competente beddyne by the oversyghte of the Comptroller. And amongst them all, to have one servante into the Court to trusse and bear their harnesse and lyverye in Court. And that day the King's Chappelle removeth, every of these children then present receaveth iiijd at the Grene Cloth of the Comptyng-house, for horshire dayly, as long as they be jurneing. And when any of these children come to xvij years of age, and their voyces change, ne cannot be preferred in this Chappelle, the nombre being full, then yf they will assente, the King assynethe them to a College of Oxford or Cambridge of his foundation, there to be at fynding and studye bothe suffytyently, tylle the King may otherwise advance them."

This, it will be conceded, was royal treatment, the provision made for the boys when their "voyces change" being altogether admirable. It is clear that the choristers followed the Court in its journeying from one house to another, and we may imagine that few of the children would lament either the change of scene, or the excitement of travelling in a kingly retinue. At the same time, one cannot but wonder how their studies progressed while they were in the royal service, and how they compared in point of scholarship with their stay-at-home chorister-brethren in the Cathedral and monastic schools.

It is pleasant to find that the money-loving Henry VII. had a kindly feeling for singing children, and that his purse opened freely enough to poets and musicians of every class. Thus we find the large sum of two pounds given "to the gentylmen of the Kinges Chappell, for to drinke with a bucke." On New Year's Day, 1493, he gave thirteen and fourpence "to the Queresters of Paule's and S. Steven," while "to the childe that playeth on the records" he sent twenty shillings.

Henry VIII.'s musical establishment was, as is well known, famous throughout Europe. "We attended High Mass," says the Venetian Ambassador, Pasqualigo, "which was chaunted by the Bishop of Durham, with a superb and noble descant choir." Another Ambassador, Sagudino, writes in his despatches: "High Mass was chaunted, and it was sung by His Majesty's choristers, whose voices are really rather divine than human; they did not chaunt, but sung like angels; and as for the deep

bass voices, I do not think they have their equals in the world." We are told that, on his travels, Henry always had in his train six singing boys and six men, for the daily singing of a "Ladie Masse" before noon; while on Sundays and holidays he had sung the Mass of the day, as well as the Lady Mass, and "an Anthempe in the afternoon."

As might have been expected, the establishment of Cardinal Wolsey was in no way inferior to that of the King. Besides twelve singing men and ten boys, he had ten singing priests—numbers, however, only a little in excess of those of the domestic-chapel choir of the Earl of Northumberland. This nobleman had ten parsons, two basses, two tenors, six counter-tenors, and six children, "after xxv shillings the peece." Perhaps the only parallel, in later times, to this cathedral-like choir in an English private chapel, was that of the Duke of Chandos at Cannons, where for some time Handel acted as organist.¹

In addition to their chapel duty, the members of these private choirs were expected to take the principal parts in the interludes and stage-plays of the period. "Shroftewsdays at nyght and Crestenmas" are frequently mentioned, as well as the Resurrection play at Easter. Much earlier, however, than the time of Henry VIII., the choristers of some Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, if not indeed of all, had been forbidden to engage even in the miracle-plays of Christmas and Easter. But other singing duties were regarded as "extra" in those early times, and it is cheering to hear of a special six and eightpence being given to the boys for "the Responde callede *Exaudi* at the Matyrstyme for xj thousand vergyns uppon Alhallowday, and *Gloria in Excelsis* uppon Cristenmas Day in the mornynge."

With the post-Reformation history of the Cathedral choirs founded and endowed by our Catholic forefathers, we have not space to deal. Their story has never yet been told in detail, and curiously enough the greater part of the existing literature on this subject, from the time of James I. down to the middle of the present century, is chiefly directed against "the abuses of a system to which they [the Protestant Cathedral authorities] are pledged, and which they, for the time, administer." But since the year 1849 (in which were written the words we have

¹ Lord Mornington, the well-known composer of anthems, chants, and part-songs, had what is called "a full cathedral choir" in his chapel at Dangan Castle, Meath.

just quoted), much has been done to improve the material needs of the choristers, and to make their secular education, at least, satisfactory. Is it too much to hope that with the coming of the Benedictines to Westminster, we may once more see the establishment of a Song-school, and that our Catholic choristers may enjoy the fruits of that complete education in the truths of religion (as well as in ecclesiastical music) which only the children of the Church can either give or receive?

DAVID BEARNE.

Giordano Bruno in England.

A FEW years since the name Giordano Bruno was much in the mouths of men ; when a statue was erected to him in the Campo di Fiori at Rome as a protest against the Catholic Church, which had pronounced him a heretic in the first year of the seventeenth century, and as a monument of one who was considered a martyr of liberal thought. It may, however, be doubted whether even then in England many knew his history, and I am sure that in this assembly few could call up in their minds the picture of the man as he lived, could state what he did and taught, or why he was condemned to die.

I confess that my own conception of him was somewhat shadowy till on a second reading, some little time since, of the late Mr. Symonds' *History of the Renaissance*, I determined to investigate for myself one portion of the career of this man, which Mr. Symonds' limits did not permit him to set out in detail. This is Bruno's sojourn in England from 1583—1585, two years before the death of Mary Stuart, during which time Elizabeth's Court was at the height of its intellectual splendour, and showed itself most majestic as a pageant. He lived in the house of the French Ambassador, then occupied with the project of marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou ; he knew Bacon, he probably knew Shakspeare, he was the intimate friend and associate of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, biographer of Sir Philip Sidney, still more intimate with Sidney himself, to whom Bruno dedicated two works written in England. We cannot but look at least with curiosity at any one associated with Sidney, the most splendid of all Elizabeth's courtiers, except his own nephew Lord Pembroke, at that time but a child ; at one whom Bacon met in philosophic talk—Bacon, to whom Tennyson applies Dante's words of Aristotle, *Maestro di color che sanno* ; and we may sorrow all the more at the ruin of such a one.

But if these two years be the kernel of our subject, we must endeavour to understand the man as a whole, and it will be necessary to give some sketch of his life.

Philippo Bruno, for such was his baptismal name, was born at Nola, near Naples, in 1548, of a middle-class family—his uncle was a velvet weaver. He became a Dominican novice at fourteen, in the convent at Naples which had once been that of St. Thomas Aquinas. At the age of sixteen he took the habit, assuming in Religion the name Giordano, and early as that may seem to us now, he was three years older than was Father Paul Sarpi when he became a Servite. Sarpi was four years younger than Bruno, so that they entered Religion at nearly the same time.

According to Bruno's own statement, his religious difficulties, which even one of his admirers has said were mainly self-created, began when he was eighteen, at which time he had doubts about the Holy Trinity. The Master of Novices had some hesitation in regard to his opinions, but the Prior Ambrogio Pasqua, a man of admirable life and character, took a more favourable view. Bruno became a priest in due course, and travelled from convent to convent, with the consent of his Superiors, studying in their various libraries.

But while he prosecuted learning, his talk and his manners were by no means those of a docile friar. His admirers admit that he was as a firebrand among the sons of St. Dominic; that the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity were irksome to him; that he upheld and openly declared Arian opinions. Hence when he was twenty-eight years of age, a process was once more begun against him, this time not merely by the Master of Novices before the Prior, but by the Provincial of his Order before the Holy Office. Thereupon he ran away from Naples to Rome, and from Rome to Genoa, abandoning his habit and his Religious name; from Genoa to Noli, where he supported himself by teaching grammar and astronomy. Then, after trying many towns in Italy, he resumed the habit at Bergamo for a few weeks, professing himself still a friar. It must be remembered how slowly news travelled, how seldom a Religious cast off his habit, how little likely it was that he should be suspected, if he did not disclose his own erratic opinions. However, the French Dominicans at Chambery did suspect him, and abandoning finally the profession of Religion and Catholicism, he went to Geneva, then under the Protestant

Papacy of Beza, and he was registered, in 1579, on the list of Italian fugitives.

His patron was a nephew of Pope Paul IV., the Marchese di Vico, who had become an eager Protestant, and gave Bruno secular garments to wear. Thus equipped he became proof-reader in a printing house, but was soon involved in a quarrel with M. de la Faye, Professor of Philosophy, and afterwards of Theology, in the Academy of Geneva, against whom he printed a pamphlet, discovering twenty errors in one of his lessons. For this, and till he apologized, he was refused the Sacrament; that he was freed from the prohibition and expressed his grateful thanks is proof that he accepted the reformed religion of Geneva. His opinions, however, could not long be there tolerated, whence he went to Lyons, and found even the Socinian body in that city intolerant of his teaching. At Toulouse he once more professed sufficient orthodoxy to qualify for a chair in the University. Thence, in 1581, he went to Paris, where he wished to see through the press some of the many works he had been preparing.

It was an age of wandering scholars, and many men who never thought of breaking with the Church lived such lives; Erasmus, always a Catholic, however much he coquetted with some of the Reformers, had ended such a career a generation before. There was little communion between city and city, nor was that which had been done in Naples Geneva, and Toulouse told upon the housetops of Paris. In Toulouse and in Paris some power of grace seems still to have worked in his soul; in each of those towns, as he tells us himself, he went to confession, which he had not done for seventeen years, each time to a Jesuit Father. He refused a professorship at the Sorbonne because he would have had to assist at Mass; he may have still had some lingering scruples. On his arrival in Paris he was thirty-three years of age, in the prime of life, and we may naturally ask what manner of man he was in his outward appearance. To judge by his portrait he seems to have been about middle height, swarthy, with black and somewhat curling hair, no beard, but a fine moustache, large luminous eyes, a somewhat aquiline nose, a square jaw, and an aspect of profound melancholy. The fiery and quarrelsome character which drove him from place to place is not easily to be discovered from his portrait.

In France he seems to have had rest for a short time. The

King, Henry III., wished to see him, and took him under his patronage, and to the King he dedicated the book he had come to Paris to print, *The Shadows of Ideas*.

When the dagger of the mad Dominican, Jacques Clement, cut short the life of Henry III., there perished one who was contemptible, even among those of his own party, by his weakness, his debauchery, his shameful sins, his prodigality and superstition. He had involved his kingdom in the miseries of civil war. He had assassinated the Duke of Guise. Of this man Bruno wrote as follows :

He took that celebrated device, where two crowns below, and one more eminent make the body, and this motto serves for the soul, *Tertia celo manet*. This most Christian King, holy, religious, and pure, may securely say, *Tertia celo manet*, because he knows it is written : Blessed are the peace-makers ; blessed are the pure in heart, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. He loves peace ; he maintains his people as much as possible in tranquillity and devotion. He is not pleased with the noise of martial instruments, which administer to the blind acquisition of the unstable tyrannies and principalities of the earth ; his pleasure is justice and holiness, which discover the way to the Kingdom of Heaven. The fiery, tempestuous, and turbulent spirits of some of his subjects may not hope that while he lives, whose tranquil mind is as it were a stronghold against warlike fury, they shall receive any assistance in vainly disturbing the peace of other countries under pretence of adding other sceptres and crowns to his ; for *Tertia celo manet*.

Having carried his book through the press, Bruno passed over into England with an introduction from the King to the then Ambassador of France, Michel Castelnau de Mauvissière, who attached him to his suite as one of the gentlemen of his household. He had not been in England long when he asked permission to lecture publicly in the University of Oxford.

Here in the space of three months he made the University too hot to hold him, by shocking and disgusting the authorities with the novelty of his opinions about the Immortality of the Soul. This, again, is another instance of his revolting an accredited body of Christians as he had revolted the Catholics and the Calvinists. The University of Oxford has always represented the more orthodox, the more stately, and the more dignified side of the Anglican Church, and in the age of Elizabeth it held the mean, as now, between Catholic and Puritan doctrines.

After leaving England—I am rapidly passing over this portion of his career to come back to it again in more detail—he went to Wittenberg, to Prague, and to Zurich, in all of which places he fell out with the religious authorities, although in a farewell oration at Wittenberg he paid a high compliment to Martin Luther. In Helmstadt he again was excommunicated by the Evangelical clergy. We see him thus embroiled with every recognized Christian community, and received, where received at all, except in England, by men like Henry III., and those who admired his play, *El Candelajo*. When Bruno's statue was unveiled in Rome as a determined insult to the Holy Father and to the Church in 1889, the play was put on the Roman stage in commemoration of what was called his martyrdom. But the Questor only gave his permission on the condition that none but adults were present, and ladies were requested to come veiled.

In Frankfort, the last German town in which he sojourned, he was forced, as we are told, by an unexpected event, to leave the city, and after a short sojourn at Zurich, he accepted an invitation received while at Frankfort from one Mocenigo to visit him at Venice. Mocenigo denounced him to the Inquisition in 1592, thence he was handed over to Rome, where he was finally executed for heresy eight years later, in 1600.

On this I have but few observations to make, and they need not detain us long.

No one had interfered with him so long as his wanderings were connected with literature and the production of his books. He was only forced to leave any place when by his lectures and public disputations he got himself into trouble. The Press was singularly free, and he never found it otherwise. When he left any city, those whom he quitted do not seem to have troubled themselves about him any longer. It is absolutely untrue to say, with Dr. Draper, that he sought refuge, *i.e.* from pursuers, in Switzerland, France, England, Germany. He went as he pleased and where he pleased. Dr. Draper had never investigated the question when he says: "The cold-scented," (whatever that means) "the cold-scented sleuth-hounds of the Inquisition followed his track remorselessly, and eventually hunted him back to Italy." No one followed him, no one hunted him. While lecturing at Venice he made several excursions to Padua, in spite of the severity of its laws against apostates and heretics. He was perfectly free to leave Italy

again during a large part of his stay there. When once he was apprehended, there was no desire to press or hasten his end. The law took its course, and we cannot be surprised at the result. It must be remembered carefully that our modern feelings about toleration had absolutely no existence in the days of which we speak. Every one put to death every one else, over whom they had any power, for what they held to be erroneous opinions, nor did any dominant body doubt for a single moment that he who assailed religion ought to suffer for it the extreme penalty. Calvin burnt Servetus, as Catholics burnt Bruno. Elizabeth executed Catholics as freely as Mary Protestants. Either side recognized that it was the natural thing for the dominant party to do. And in those days I certainly can imagine no party, whether in Church or State, that would not in the one case have handed over to the secular arm, and in the other case have put to death, one who held that magic was a good and lawful thing; that the Holy Spirit was only the soul of the world; that the world was everlasting, *i.e.* uncreated; that Christ was not God, but only a great magician, and rightly crucified. I pass over much else with which I will not soil your minds and ears. I do not say that the better weapons against such blasphemies are not forbearance and prayer, but I assert that as now human society is coming to consider an anarchist as a *bête féroce*, who must at all hazards be extinguished, so then human society, which had not ceased to be a religious society, thought of the dangerous and impenitent teacher. I draw, as the Church drew, a line between the man who lost his faith yet kept to himself his sorrow and shame, and the man who flung his opinions about to the destruction of souls, as the anarchist flings his bombs to destroy their bodies.

As to the betrayal of Bruno by Mocenigo, I am not in any degree concerned to justify it. It is said that the denunciation was made in obedience to the dictates of his conscience and by order of his confessor. This may or may not be. I find no proof of it. But if we are to require virtuous motives in the mind of every one who has handed over a criminal to justice, it can only be said that justice would far more seldom be done than has been the case. Neither am I prepared to defend, nor to blame overmuch, the manner of his death. Burning was the recognized punishment for heresy, and terrible as it is, it excited no particular horror in a somewhat barbarous

age. All modes of punishment are dreadful, from stoning as practised under the Jews, when men like the future St. Paul did not scruple to take charge of the executioners' clothes. Far more terrible than burning was the execution of the martyrs under Henry VIII., while I know not that there is much to be said for the humanity of the Newgate gibbet or the French guillotine. It was the fashion of the age; a horrible fashion, but that is all that can be said.

I come now, after this sketch of Bruno's life, to the subject proper of our conference this evening—his stay in England and his intercourse with English men and English thought.

It is characteristic of the man and his career that, in spite of the patronage of Henry III., he excited after a time great comment in Paris by his teaching, and that he was glad to seek other shores. No one can look at his face as portrayed for us without finding him attractive, and he seems to have been so in real life, only after a time his evil and quarrelsome nature came to the front, and those who protected him were obliged to shake him off. He seems to have retained as friends scarce any who were at first attracted by him. Perhaps his protector in England came nearest to an abiding friend.

Henry III. gave him letters to the French Ambassador in England, M. Castelnau de Mauvissière, a man who stands out in the history of that time as a light in a dark place. He was a fervent Catholic and a strong adherent of the Guises, when France was torn in two between the League and the Cause, Lorraine and Navarre. He was early a favourite with the Cardinal of Lorraine, and was one of the escort of gentlemen who accompanied Mary Stuart into Scotland. To her, when she fell into the power of Elizabeth, he devoted all his heart and all his energies, and not till after his recall from England did Elizabeth dare to bring about her execution. Devout Catholic as he was, and never concealing the side he took, he was before all things a politician, and ready to make concessions for the sake of peace. He had taken an active part against England and Elizabeth, both in religion and in diplomacy, yet he had not shrunk from dissuading the Queen of Scotland from marrying the unworthy Darnley, so unworthy, that Castelnau could not but suspect Mary's passion for him was caused by artificial or natural enchantment. But he was now accredited Ambassador in England, respected by all, and

charged to bring about, if possible, a marriage between Elizabeth and Anjou.

At this juncture came Bruno with his letter from the King. He came no doubt as a Catholic into a Catholic household, though in such a coming and going as would take place in the Ambassador's suite, it was most unlikely that questions were raised how far he was a practising Catholic, nor is it probable that any inquisition was made in London society how far his views were in accordance with the Church's dogma. Probably no one in England ever knew that he was an Italian friar and renegade. Up to the time of his stay in Paris he had printed no works which have come down to us. While there he published two, which would have seemed harmless enough. They were works on the Philosophy and the Mnemonic Art of Lulli, who never broke with the Church, though certain propositions drawn from his works were condemned, a fate which has chanced to many who have never wished to be unorthodox, since, as Father Faber says, it is easy to stray under the shadow of condemned propositions.

Lulli, born in 1235, in fact broke with the world at the age of thirty, and became a Franciscan friar, and while the Princes of Europe were thinking of battles against the Moslim with carnal weapons, he conceived the idea of a spiritual crusade, and desired to form a militia of theologians to convert them by reason. He studied Oriental languages and Arabic books, and all such philosophy as would give him his intellectual armour. He invented a system which he called "The Grand Art," that of combining names expressive of abstract and general ideas according to a purely mechanical process, and so judge the correctness of propositions and discover new truths. So said his followers; if you quite understand what he intended to do, you are more fortunate than I. He taught his doctrines and prosecuted his crusade all over Europe, but unable to obtain from Pope, Emperor, or King, the help he demanded, he went alone to convert the infidel. For this he was stoned at Tunis, and was carried off by a Genoese vessel only to die at Majorca, his native isle, in 1315. His countrymen counted him a martyr. Some of his contemporaries believed him an inspired saint, others thought him a crazy heretic.

Bruno's work on *The Shadows of Ideas*, and its conclusion on the "Art of Memory," is founded on Lulli's philosophy. It cannot interest us now. Lulli's writings have been summed

up concisely as condemned by all sane minds, in that he substitutes names for things and enables people to discourse without judgment about that which they do not know.

In Paris also Bruno printed the *Candelajo*, which in a coarse age would not have been found too strong. It must be said for him, that it was one thing to write the *Candelajo* at that time, and quite another thing to put it on the Roman stage towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Bruno then was received as a learned Italian, and the question of more or less orthodoxy would have been but little, if at all, considered. It would have been assumed that an Italian was a Catholic and the gentleman of Elizabeth's Court Protestant. So far as outward observances in society went, differences would not have been marked as at this day they are. While in England Bruno wrote a series of dialogues on the Copernican Theory, which he called *An Ash Wednesday Supper*, showing that the day was observed; and when his friend, Sir Philip Sidney, had fallen, not many years before, into ill-health, he gained a dispensation from fasting in Lent from Parker, the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury.

Philip Sidney had gathered together a circle of friends into an Academy after the Italian model, who met to discuss literary matters, and among them were Gabriel Harvey, Greville, Dyer, possibly, even probably, Bacon, then a young barrister, and others. "Philosophical and metaphysical subjects of a nice and delicate nature were there discussed," says Greville, "and the doors of the apartments in which they met were kept shut." "We met," Bruno says, "in a chamber in the house of Fulke Greville, "to discuss moral, metaphysical, mathematical, and natural speculations." In all these Sidney was the leader, as was natural to the creator of English prose style, and to his genius bowed older and younger men alike. "There is none more proper," says Bruno, in the *Heroic Rapture*, "to receive the dedication of these discourses than you, excellent sir, lest I should hold a mirror to the blind, and a lyre to him that is deaf, as I have done from want of heed, and as others do from habit. To you, therefore, they are presented, that the Italian may reason with one who has understanding, that verse may be under the countenance and judgment of a poet, that philosophy may show herself in present nakedness to your fair understanding; that heroic things may be directed to an heroic and generous soul, such as that with which you are endowed; and

that homage may be offered to one of such worth as is ever made manifest in you."

In the *Ash Wednesday Supper* he speaks of Sidney's "natural inclination of truly heroic type," and of Greville as "a most generous and refined spirit."

The most important discussion of this Academia, so far as we are concerned, was held at that very supper, in which Greville invited him to give his reasons that the earth moves. The state of the general belief in the Copernican teaching was analogous to that which the doctrine of development holds in the present day. It had carried conviction to scientific souls, who all felt that if true, and it probably was true, some *modus vivendi* was to be found between it and theological truth, since truths could not, and cannot, contradict each other. But there were various currents of thought, many modes of expression, which were not necessarily true. Because the earth moved, it did not follow that Galileo was right in the propositions wherein he stated it, just as now if we assent to a doctrine of development, it does not necessarily follow that Darwin has correctly stated all its laws. Bruno, on entering upon the discussion, was insolent to his host and the company. He began to show that arrogant and intolerable temper which cast him out from so many places into which his genius had gained him ready admission. He disputed, but was at first disinclined, he said, to dispute, "because he was not aware what was the capacity of his hearers, and therefore he feared to be like those who give reasons to statues, and argue with the dead."

He showed among those who would have taken him into their familiar circle, the same arrogance which he had displayed in Oxford, where he sought to teach. He heralded his coming with a bombastic greeting to the University, which could only set his hearers against him; and he taught the immortality of the soul indeed, but complicated it with heretical doctrines of metempsychosis. When his antagonist demurred, Bruno called him a pig, and retreated to his friends in London, with the result we have already seen.

Sidney, however, was still kind to him, and to Sidney he dedicated his *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, printed, as were several other books, by Vautrollier, in London.

We first find Thomas Vautrollier, a printer and publisher, "dwelling within the Black Friars by Lud Gate," probably in the shop which had previously been occupied by Gemini, the

first engraver on copper in England. There is not much record of business done by Vautrollier before 1573, when he published a Latin Book of Common Prayer, but by 1575, he had become a regular Reformation publisher, bringing out Beza's works, a translation of Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*, the Geneva version of the New Testament, and Tallis's and Byrd's Hymns. In 1577 he came more into the field of popular controversy, and issued Nathaniel Baxter's *Sovereign Salve for a Sinful Soul*, and *An Answer of the Christian Protestant to the proud Challenge of a counterfeit Catholic*. In 1581, he published Whitaker's answer to Blessed Edmund Campian. When he became Bruno's publisher, in 1583, he seems to have been afraid of putting his name to the books; to the *Cena de le Ceneri* there is no printer's name, nor to the *Spaccio de la Bestia*; while to his philosophical works the name Venice was given as the place of printing. "All these books," Bruno tells us himself, "said to be printed in Venice, were printed in England, and it was the printer who desired it to appear they were printed in Venice, in order to sell them more easily, for if he had said they were printed in England, it would have been more difficult to sell them in that country, and almost all the others were printed in England, even when they say Paris, and elsewhere."

I cannot but suspect that the censorship of the press may have had yet more to do with the matter, or even the state of public feeling; just as some few years since, when the late Sir Richard Burton issued his unexpurgated edition of the *Arabian Nights*, no English printer dared put his name to the work, nor could it be openly dated from London; therefore it bears the fictitious name Benares as the place of its printing and publication.

The *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante* sets forth Bruno's system of ethics, as his other works do his philosophy and theology, but of his teaching as a whole we can only say that it was a summary of the general teaching of the time, so far as that teaching revolted against the system of the Church and of Aristotle. The following is a summary of his doctrine by Dr. Brinton, an American, who professes a great admiration for him:

"Bruno's methods were those which to-day govern every trained scientific mind. He constantly repeats that the investigation of nature in the unbiassed light of reason is our only guide to truth. Trust to your own senses; they will not

deceive you, though they may not tell you the whole truth. Hold your mind ever open to new truths. Never believe you have attained certainty. Doubt ever, doubt all things. Let us reject antiquity, tradition, faith, authority. The truth is not in the past, nor in the present, but in the future. Let us begin by doubt, let us doubt till we know."

This again is another account of him by another admirer, Mr. Thomas Davidson, the translator of Rosmini:

"Lulli's acute rationalism, Nicolas Cusanus' genial anti-scholastic natural mysticism, Lucretius' fiery love of the material and his atomism, Telesio's devotion to natural observation and his animism, and Copernicus' heliocentric theory (anticipated by Cusanus); take these, and add to them Bruno's fervid, impatient, restless disposition, and it is not difficult to account for either his system, his life, or his death. Rationalism, naturalism, mysticism, these are the components of his thought. This thought necessarily brought him into conflict with the Church, whose thought was and is founded on dogmatism, supernaturalism, and scholasticism. There is very little that can be called original in Bruno."

Bruno returned to France with M. de Castelnau in the autumn of 1585, to resume his wanderings to and fro on the face of the earth.

I have now to gather up and accentuate one or two matters which strike me in connection with Bruno's visit to England. Mr. Symonds, in his *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, as well as in the *History of the Renaissance* of which I have already spoken, has some words in praise of Bruno, and says, when mentioning his relations with Sidney, that, "had the proportion of my work justified such a digression, I would eagerly have collected from Bruno's Italian discourses those paragraphs which cast a vivid light upon literary and social life in England."

Now here I must take leave to doubt whether Mr. Symonds, careful as he generally was, really knew that of which he was talking. The paragraphs are very few, and they do not cast a vivid light. Beyond the expressions of high praise already quoted of Sidney and Greville, and of disparagement of his antagonist at Oxford as a pig, there is next to nothing. He finds fault with the extreme youth and the want of breeding of most Oxford students, in fact we see from his pages what we know already, that they were for the most part mere boys who would now be at public schools, and far less subject to discipline

than public school boys are; he tells us that London streets were dirty and narrow, and that he was struck with the beauty of the English women; he was presented at Court, and speaks in high terms of Queen Elizabeth, who, whatever were the faults of her character, and they were many, managed to impress the greatness of her personality on those who came in contact with her; the words in praise of her by Shakspeare in *Midsommer Night's Dream* and *King Henry VIII.*, were not mere panegyric, and Bruno may be forgiven for seeing that she was every inch a Queen. But there is little in the scattered allusion to England in Bruno's writings which need detain any serious student.

There are those who have found traces of his influence on Bacon, and still more on Shakspeare, but the theory is suspect on the face of it, because it is mainly put forward by those who think that Bacon and Shakspeare are one—which I need not say to an intelligent audience is at least as monstrous a literary heresy, as were any of Bruno's doctrines in the theological order. There are no doubt expressions in Bacon and Shakspeare which have a ring of Bruno, and some of Hamlet's speculations especially recall passages of the Italian. But I do not believe for a moment there is any real connection. In every age, and especially in every age of transition and disquiet, there are certain phrases and modes of thought which have scarce even crystallized into opinions, that are the common property of all; no man can say with whom they arose, nor how they first found utterance. There has been already a strife among literary men as to who framed the useful if euphemistic word Agnostic, and three hundred years hence the same class of mind that believes that Bacon wrote the plays of Shakspeare, may maintain that Mr. Herbert Spencer wrote Tennyson's poems because there are nuggets of thought and expression common to both.

The conclusion at which I have arrived after very careful study of the subject, is that Bruno was not original; that he said in a very obscure manner much which others, notably Bacon and the Cardinal of Cusa, said clearly; that he did not influence English thought to any perceptible extent. Yet though all this is negative, when perhaps many here expected I should show positive results, his acceptance in England gives food for thought.

A great writer with Catholic sympathies not, alas! with

Catholic faith, has recently passed away from us, one who will ever be remembered while English style is valued, and the force of English words is studied. But beyond and above the incomparable beauty of his language, Mr. Walter Pater had a distinct message to his time. He showed us the essential similarity of the current tone of mind at the Renaissance and in our own days. Perhaps, as in old age and death come out often strange likenesses to the early youth of the same person, it may be that the Renaissance, of which the Reformation was the religious, or rather irreligious, side, is about to die, and the earlier traits are appearing. Mr. Symonds, of whom I have so often spoken, calls his last two volumes of the history of the Renaissance, *The Catholic Reaction*, and it may be that a Catholic reaction will come once more to heal our troubles. But there can be no doubt that just now there is the same seeking after what is new; because it is new, the same disregard of the old, because it is old, a willingness to take any philosophy, because it rejects what was once accepted, rather than because it has in itself any grounds of certainty and stability. It makes more of Bruno and men like him, than did his own contemporaries, and, as I suspect, because he is difficult to understand, he is made a martyr, though even on his own lines he was not specially important. Our foremost statesmen only too often hold out hands of friendship to foreign Protestants or heretics discredited by the Church, without asking more than that they set at naught what within her is sacred.

When some years ago the people of England wrought themselves into a fury of rage against the Church, the man whom the vulgar and ignorant took as their guide was a certain renegade priest Achilli, of whom, since Cardinal Newman demolished him, the less said the better. But it is a strange and sad thought that when even such a man as Canon Liddon desired to popularize in England certain Catholic books, he must needs take *The Five Wounds* of Rosmini, the book of its almost saintly writer which had been placed on the Index. *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis*. If the breach between Anglicanism and the Church is ever to be healed, it will not be by the welcoming to the bosom of Anglicanism those whom the Church repudiates, by Sidney embracing Bruno, and Liddon the condemned works of Rosmini.

Bruno called out from those who sheltered him in England the virtues of generosity and courtesy; he did them no special

harm, the harm has been done to those who have seen him in a false light in our day. Sidney could never have been a Catholic, nor could have been many others of Elizabeth's day. Those who are nearest to great events are often unable to disentangle the substance from the accident, and remain in error with perfect good faith. It was almost impossible for one brought up as Sidney was to read the riddle of the St. Bartholomew's Massacre, and understand that the French King's lust of blood, and the political strifes of the times, not the religion of the King and the dominant party, were the cause of that dread night.' He was in good faith, and the cup of cold water at Zutphen may well have been counted to him for righteousness. He died the death of a Christian hero. So, too, we can hardly imagine Bacon a Catholic. "The world was too much with him," in that rush of the phenomena of nature on his vision which came between him and supernatural verities. Shakspeare ought to have been, and may have been, Catholic, at all events he was not far from the Kingdom of God.

That brilliant company who met from time to time in Greville's house separated widely, and it is strange to find some, if even a little, lurid light cast on them from Bruno's pyre in the Campo di Fiori. It is not for us to judge even him. The mercy of the Blessed Trinity at whom he had scoffed, of the Christ he had denied, may have prevailed at the last even amid the flames. I have endeavoured to show what he was, not to say presumptuously what he is.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

Rus in Urbe.

CONCERNING BIRDS AND THEIR NESTS.

OVER an area of some seventy square miles, the huge mass of London has crushed out every feature of country life, beneath what is frequently styled its wilderness of brick and mortar, though anything less resembling a wilderness, in the proper sense of the word, it is impossible to imagine. It might accordingly be supposed that to dwellers in the Metropolis must be denied all opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the sort of lore which thrusts itself on every youthful rustic, and that they must needs pass through life without learning to know a beast, a bird, or a flower. But, though you drive nature out with a pitchfork, she will manage to double back, and in this instance, as it were in retaliation for the magnitude of the overthrow sustained, she seems to have set herself to captivate her conqueror, making the great city an agent to display her products as she could not exhibit them for herself. Every phase of every season manifests itself along every great thoroughfare, where the passer-by can read the latest news of what is doing over the face of the land, from the first days of spring with its snowdrops and crocuses, till autumn having done with flowers takes to painting the leaves with brown and gold; while in the multitude of parks scattered like oases up and down the aforesaid wilderness, if nature of herself is insufficient for the work, she has made art her servant, so that—to say nothing of the gorgeous pageant of exotic species—the clock of the year is made to tell its tale in the succession of country blossoms, from the time when the bright little winter aconite peeps out of its Elizabethan ruff, as we might find it told in wood and field and cottage garden, where the mighty capital is no more than a name.

Nor is it in respect of flowers alone that this is true. As regards birds it may even be said that the Londoner enjoys some advantages over his country cousins. The very vastness

of the city has forced these to adopt such courses as may accommodate themselves to its conditions, for, the struggle for existence being what it is, so large a tract of land must not be left without its resources being requisitioned.

First on the list of those which have thus adapted themselves to the environment comes without question the sparrow. This bird is always a hanger-on of man, and so has earned his scientific appellation *domesticus*, but it would seem as though there should be a sub-species labelled *metropolitanus*, for the London sparrow has carried the impudence, familiarity, and general audacity of his kind to a point so far beyond any of his congeners as to stamp him with a character as distinctive as that which distinguishes the thoroughbred cockney from rural Hodge. No purlieu of the city is so busy with traffic as to exorcise the London sparrow, which as a familiar spirit haunts every nook and cranny of what seems to be man's exclusive domain, making his home and building his slovenly nest, with a fine indifference, in any hole or corner of the most prosaic street run up by the jerry-builder, or amongst the exquisite decoration of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster; while assembling in the parks in large companies, he has learnt how to take toll of human soft-heartedness, accepting as a matter of course the supply of crumbs from passers-by, while sedulously avoiding any such display of weakness as would be exhibited by the smallest symptom of gratitude.

Sparrows are not the only birds which have attached themselves to human society and love to fix their abode near that of man. Rooks, as we all know, are wont to establish their domicile in such situations as to make it appear an appanage of a great house, and in London we find them quite at home not only in such comparatively large areas as that of Gray's Inn, but even within the limited space of some of our less bustling squares. Thrushes and blackbirds, essentially birds of the shrubbery, find excellent accommodation for building purposes in any enclosure inaccessible to the human boy, while the flycatcher—known sometimes from its tastes as the "beam-bird"—is reported as having ventured for several seasons to rear its brood by the side of Rotten Row, and the skylark as being domiciled in Regent's Park. Starlings are quite at home in the same green spaces, and comport themselves exactly as their rural brethren, assembling, as their manner is, in large flocks from various quarters to roost in the trees of the island in

St. James' Park; while in the trees caravans of tom-tits are perpetually pursuing their nomadic mode of life in quest of insects. Swallows and martins are to be seen at times above the house-tops; seagulls constantly frequent the Serpentine and other sheets of water—to say nothing of the river—while our summer migrants on their journeys to and fro frequently take a night's lodging in our midst. Besides the birds which thus present themselves of their own accord, others have been imported and acclimatized, the most notable being that wild and wary creature the ring-dove,¹ which though now left perfectly free has mastered the fact that a crowd of people is quite different from a solitary gamekeeper, and accordingly dropping all precaution feeds tranquilly within a stone's throw of a throng of gazers, and builds its nest even where it is commanded by a row of windows. Less voluntary sojourners are the cormorants, dabchicks, and water-hens, on our ponds, and the pheasants in our enclosures, but these too afford opportunities of leisurely observation which would seldom be possible in their native haunts.

Besides these, however, which would after all, by themselves, afford rather meagre opportunities for studying wild life, the Londoner has in the Museum of Natural History a mass of material provided for him, full of interest and instruction, and this it is which may be said to give him, in some respects at any rate, the advantage over the dweller in the country. It is quite true that in the museum we see only dead creatures, and that it is their ways in life that best deserve our attention, and accordingly the best of collections can never take the place of personal observation. But, at the same time, nature is here again supplemented not by art only, but by science, and much is presented to us which we should never have noticed for ourselves, nor probably have had the opportunity of noticing, and we are thus enabled to see with other men's eyes and to utilize the result of their labours, and if the museum galleries can never take the place of the fields, they can supplement them and suggest to the keenest of observers fresh points for observation.

That such is the case may be illustrated at present in connection with that most important of operations in bird life, the building of nests. A word must, however, first be said as to the geography of the museum, for we shall not find

¹ Or wood-pigeon.

all that we want in one locality. As we enter the main door of the building, there lies on our left what we may term the main gallery, running thence to the extremity of the western wing, a long room with twelve pairs of bays, right and left, and a terminal chamber. In this gallery we find, besides single specimens of birds in glass cases round the walls, many life-like family groups of various species, with their nests and eggs, or young, placed amidst their natural surroundings. If, instead of thus turning to the left on our first entrance, we traverse the great hall which fronts us, and mount the staircase opposite, we find in the gallery to the left, a supplementary collection, chiefly of smaller birds, representing, like those downstairs, their home life.¹ Finally, if instead of ascending the staircase, we pass under it by the archway on either side, we find ourselves in the British room, where are specimens of the various animals, beasts, birds, reptiles, and fishes, inhabiting our islands.

Our first visit may be to the lower or main gallery. At the entrance of the second bay, on the right, is a very remarkable nest of the hen-harrier, a kind of hawk which in various features resembles the owls, and whose name is to be understood as signifying not that the female is the predominant partner—though as amongst other birds of prey the hen is larger and more powerful than her mate—but that this species habitually harries hens. The curious feature of the nest in question is its situation, here faithfully reproduced, the spot selected being the point of intersection of two sheep-paths through the heather of a moor. It would certainly seem to us that a worse position could not have been chosen, for along whichever path a sheep might come its course must lie over the nest, and we should be tempted to think that the eggs would be as unlikely to escape destruction as a carpet laid down at Regent's Circus to remain free from the wheel-marks of cabs and omnibuses. There is, however, a strange freemasonry amongst animals, even those totally unlike one another, and it was found, in this particular instance, that the sheep respected the family arrangements of the birds, and used to be at the trouble of jumping over the nest so as not to injure it. Such considerate conduct, which suggests many questions, finds a parallel in many other cases. Numerous species build habitually on the ground in pasture fields, and

¹ In the gallery opposite, *i.e.*, on the right as we enter, is the Gould collection of humming-birds.

though not exposing themselves to such apparently certain destruction, appear liable to terrible risks. To say nothing of pheasants and partridges—snipe, peewits, larks, pipits, and wagtails,¹ nest abundantly in the midst of herds of grazing cattle. Yet how seldom, if ever at all, do we find that one of the multitudinous hoofs has come down to annihilate their household gods? Still more extraordinary are the numerous instances of confidence placed by a bird in its natural enemies. A remarkable example is related from his own observation by Charles Waterton. A pair of wood-pigeons built their nest in the very tree wherein a pair of magpies had already established theirs. How defenceless and conspicuous a structure is that of the former birds, may be seen in the main gallery (12th bay, left), and of all robbers of eggs, the magpie is the most inveterate, while at the same time, it may be remarked, urged probably by the stings of conscience, he thinks fit to defend his own sanctuary in a rather elaborate fashion, as may be seen in the upper gallery, not far from the head of the staircase. It would surely be thought that the pigeons in this instance courted inevitable destruction, with even less possibility of escape than the hen-harriers. Yet, Waterton tells us, the magpies never touched either eggs or young, and he goes on to remark that the pigeons evidently knew beforehand that it would be so, since they selected such a situation with the danger before their eyes. The same sort of thing is found in other instances. Against the pillar of the main gallery dividing the 3rd and 4th bays (on the right), is to be seen a beautiful case of peregrine falcons, with their voracious young. This bird, which of all flying things exhibits the most marvellous power and grace of wing, is so fierce and rapacious that a single nest has been calculated to destroy three hundred brace of grouse in one season; while, in spite of the proverb about hawks not pecking out hawk's eyes, it will in default of a more toothsome quarry prey upon its relative the kestrel, which is to be seen in a case nearly opposite that of which we are speaking. Yet, I have myself seen a nest of peregrines on the face of a cliff wherein were similarly established, and seemingly in perfect security, wild pigeons (stock-doves), starlings, and other birds, and an excellent field naturalist assured me that none of these were ever touched. His idea was that the falcons had elaborated

¹ The nests of the yellow wagtail, and meadow pipit, ordinarily placed in such a situation as is here described, may be seen in the upper gallery.

a species of political economy, finding these fearless neighbours good decoys to attract others of their own kinds from a distance, in regard of which no restraint need be exhibited, but whether this be the explanation, or rather that the hawks are touched by the confidence of their weaker brethren—the fact seems clear that it is much safer to be near such a danger than far away from it. An even more remarkable story was reported a year or two since from one of our London squares. In this was a tree which had been cut off some little distance above the ground, and the flat top so formed was the favourite lounge of a cat from one of the neighbouring houses who used there to bask in the sun. Among the foliage close by, within easy reach of grimalkin's claws, a robin built its nest, never exhibiting the least fear, nor sustaining the slightest injury, but carrying all its domestic arrangements to a satisfactory conclusion.

Very curious are likewise some of the problems which birds set themselves in regard to their parental duties. In the upper gallery (opposite the fourth window from the stair) is a nest of the great-tit, otherwise called the ox-eye, built in a letter-box, a situation which this bird appears much to affect. It might be supposed that the avalanche of letters and papers constantly tumbling in would be too much for the nerves of the hen-bird when sitting, but tits are not much troubled with nerves, and so trifling an inconvenience is altogether disregarded. There remains, however, the difficulty of getting the young birds out when the time comes, the first exercise of their wings having to be for an almost perpendicular flight, in a confined space most unfavourable for the purpose, so that it looks as though they must find themselves in a trap from which there is no escape. But the difficulty in this instance is nothing to that of another to be seen in the British room. There three tits' nests are shown inside a large inverted flower-pot—one half of which has been removed to exhibit the interior. The only mode of ingress or egress is by the hole overhead, and how the parents should manage to conduct their inexperienced brood through such an orifice is quite incomprehensible. Yet somehow they know what they are about, and succeed in doing it. Other birds frequently choose situations for their nests which seem to entail most appalling dangers for their young brood. On a Yorkshire moor, where the yawning chasm of "Gaping Gill" sinks to unknown depths, so that a stone thrown in can be heard faintly clattering down in the bowels of the earth long after it has

disappeared from sight, though the effect on the mind of the human beholder is one of such horror as almost to unnerve him, a water-ousel used year after year to build in the very throat of the horrid pit, and in such a position that the first flight of the young must needs be across its mouth. Starlings will fix their domicile, not only in hollow trees, as we see in the upper gallery, but in all kinds of positions, seemingly the most inappropriate, as in the roof of a railway station, whence to reach a spot of safety a crowded platform has to be traversed, and a network of railway beyond. It is not always, however, that their wisdom is justified by the results, for a nest of these birds having been placed for years on a certain classic statue in the midst of an old-fashioned garden pond, each year one at least of the members of the infant family has prematurely terminated its existence in a watery grave. It is clear, nevertheless, that animals are not affected as we are by the idea of a great risk ; they have no imagination, and are no more inclined to lose their heads on the top of a mountain than on the top of a mole-hill. Moreover, they remain utterly imperturbable in what would appear the most disquieting circumstances. Some years ago a muscovy-duck, a bird which never loses its wild instincts, chose to place its nest on the ridge of a tolerably high roof. The first experience of life which fell to the lot of its ducklings when they attempted to move, was to roll head over heels down the slope, and then fall precipitously from the eaves to the ground. When they had all performed this feat, the mother flew down and joined them, and they adjourned together to a neighbouring pond as if nothing particular had occurred.

In another particular the lack of imagination on the part of animals is conspicuous ; they have no sense of the picturesque, though man, with his poetic faculty, attributes it to them. We fancy that the beauty of the natural surroundings in which we habitually find them, and which impresses us with a natural sense of fitness, must be dear to the creatures themselves, and that if transported elsewhere they must pine like the Swiss for his native mountains. But we find, in fact, that they are utterly insensible to such charms ; birds, for instance, will neglect what seems to us a most suitable site to fix their nest beside a noisome ditch, or among the unsightly excrescences of a cockney villa garden. A good example of this is to be seen in the British room, where a wheat-ear, a wild moorland bird, has chosen for its habitation the inside of a battered tin pan.

It may also be remarked that various birds are variously gifted in respect of the perils against which they have to guard. In the lower gallery is to be seen a nest of the moor-hen (or water-hen).¹ This being built usually near the water, is liable to be submerged in times of flood, but the parents are aware of the coming danger, and set to work to raise the heap of weeds on which the eggs are laid, to such a height as may suffice to keep them dry. Wild ducks, however, though exposed to the same danger, have no such instinct, and come to grief in consequence. Another class of aquatic birds, the grebes, build such a nest as to make it almost impossible that the eggs should remain dry, and, as if to settle the matter, when the mother leaves them she brings up from the bottom of the water weeds dripping wet with which to cover them. Yet what would in other cases be fatal to all hopes of incubation, is not so here. A nest of the crested grebe is exhibited in the main gallery, between the first and second bays on the right, containing an egg much discoloured by the weeds which have been thus employed.

The nesting habits of seagulls introduce us to another perplexing question. In the lower gallery (7th bay, right), we see a group of the laughing gull, otherwise called the chocolate-headed, or, less accurately, the black-headed gull. This bird, which may serve as a type of its class, being in many parts of the country the commonest species, and building in situations which are easily observable, when it finds an expanse suited to its tastes—I am thinking of Witherslack Moss, in Lancashire—will cover it with nests, set so close together that the visitor has to pick his steps between them, and so absolutely alike in their most primitive simplicity that it appears incomprehensible how the parent bird can know her own amid the multitude. Yet no practical difficulty on this score ever seems to arise. What makes the matter more curious is that birds do sometimes lose their way, and that in circumstances apparently less bewildering. I have known of an instance in which a yellow wagtail could not find its nest—amid growing corn—and another when a whinchat was equally unfortunate, amid long grass, though they hunted up and down for nearly an hour. On both occasions a strong wind was blowing, and it may be supposed that it was this which caused the trouble, by altering the appearance of things around.

As to the structure of nests, much might be said. Curious

¹ Between the tenth and eleventh bays, on the right.

problems are presented by those of the rook and the heron, which are seen in the centre of the main gallery. How these bulky, clumsy-looking structures of dry sticks continue to hold together amid the tossing tree-tops, appears inexplicable, and of all birds the heron is probably the last which we should naturally have expected to select such a situation or to construct such an edifice. Yet these nests frequently last, with some annual repairs, for several seasons. A very different piece of work, but suggesting somewhat similar questions, is the nest of the reed warbler (to be seen in the upper gallery and in the British room), suspended from four reeds or grass stalks. The skill of the house martin (main gallery, terminal chamber) in making a hanging nest of clay against the face of a wall, is not less wonderful than that of the stick-builders above mentioned, while his near relative, the sand-martin, does not build at all, but burrows like a rabbit. A very notable nest is that of the gold-crest—the only truly pendent nest made by a British bird—(upper gallery), and though only an occasional visitor to our country, the golden oriole deserves mention for the exceedingly artistic construction of his nest, always neatly hung in the fork of a branch (see lower gallery, 9th bay, left). In countries like Holland, where this bird is plentiful, it is said that a tolerably complete catalogue of the local newspapers may be compiled from the fragments used for building. Very warm and comfortable structures are those of the water-ousel and the common brown wren, both of which are shown in the upper gallery. The former, though not found in nature quite so close to the water's edge as it has here of necessity to be represented, is frequently so placed that the young birds on first issuing from it must almost inevitably fall into the stream below, sometimes into a rapid torrent. This, however, is of no importance, as the young "dipper," even before it is fledged, can swim and dive like a fish. As for the wren, a peculiar feature of his economy is the provision of more than one nest for the same pair of birds, that to be used being often, as it would appear, a matter of uncertainty to the last moment, and the cock-bird, while the hen is sitting, occupies his spare time in constructing additional accommodation. Should the brood be prematurely disturbed from their original shelter, the parents will, though not without considerable labour—conduct them to one of the others. These birds will, moreover, take advantage of the warm quarters thus afforded during the following autumn and winter,

the family party gathering there to spend the night ; or, in default of a nest of their own, they will patronize that of a house-martin, the sun-loving owner of which is by that time far away.

Another striking nest is that of the long-tailed tit, a most complex and elaborate piece of work, wherein the eggs and young, sometimes to the number of near a score, are placed at the bottom of thickly felted poke, communicating with the outer air only by a small hole near the top. Two questions naturally present themselves : How is it that the young birds are not smothered ? and, How do the rudiments of their long tails escape being hopelessly crumpled ? In what condition they emerge from their nursery may be seen in the excellent and life-like group of the comical little things, exhibited in the upper gallery.

The great number of eggs laid in some of these nests suggests the idea that it is a joint-stock concern of two families, and assuredly even more curious arrangements do not unfrequently occur, for not only do birds of the same kind, as garden warblers, thus go into partnership, but even those of different kinds, as pheasants and partridges. It does not appear how in such cases it is determined who is to sit on the eggs, and to whom the young birds are severally to belong.

We can scarcely class with such instances the fraudulent habit of the cuckoo, who shifts all parental duties on to the shoulders of others. In the upper gallery we see illustrated a case in which the victims of this imposition were hedge-sparrows, and when we look at it we shall probably find it hard to understand how the foster-parents can fail to see that there is something wrong, and go on feeding a young monster bigger than themselves, as if it were their own offspring. Birds, however, appear to be altogether deficient in any such power of discrimination, and will notice, neither the colour of eggs substituted for their own, nor that of the chicks issuing therefrom. A jackdaw will be quite happy and motherly with a brood of magpies, or a white-throat with one of wagtails ; we may even double the size of the family which a matron has intended to rear, and make its members vary as we like as to plumage and colour, she will see no difference and treat them all alike.¹ The hedge-sparrow though proverbially most associated with the cuckoo is not the only bird, nor even that most common utilized by him. The meadow-pipit appears to

¹ Of course size must be considered as well as natural habits and food.

be the favourite victim. Wagtails are also frequently selected, though any small insect-feeding bird that lays its eggs in a tolerably open place, is liable to be chosen, robins, whinchats, and stonechats, for example, all of them represented in the same gallery. Occasionally the cuckoo seems to lose its cunning, and places its egg where the young bird, when hatched, will scarcely be able to thrust out of the nest, as is its amiable habit, the rightful children of the house, that so it may obtain that monopoly of the food supply which its pronounced growing habits and voracious appetite require. But not only has the cuckoo's egg been found in the nest of the thrush and the blackbird, where this would be difficult, on account of the size of the birds to be dealt with, but in that of the jay,¹ where it would seem quite impossible, and where, moreover, even were the feat of eviction accomplished, the food supplied by the parent birds would horribly disagree with the intruder. Still more dismal would be the prospect of a young cuckoo which found itself in the nest of a grebe, in which position the egg has been discovered. The treatment, already mentioned, to which that bird subjects its own eggs, would of course cause it to be speedily addled, but if the bird could by possibility be born, it would be curious to know its feelings when it found itself expected to live on fish. Even more suggestive of tragic developments are the instances, rare but not unrecorded, in which two cuckoos have laid an egg in the same nest. For the chick whose murderous ancestral instincts have been fostered on unresisting hedge-sparrows and pipits, it must be a most unexpected experience to have to start life by a life and death struggle with an antagonist as murderous as itself.

Such are a few of the instances, in one department of the museum, in which we have brought before us interesting and instructive materials for the study of nature, materials which, while invaluable as supplementing our own observations, may also help those who are unable to observe for themselves, to realize what they read about, and obtain such knowledge as would be impossible from books alone. Perhaps on a future occasion some other branch of animal life may be similarly dealt with.

RURICOLA.

¹ Nests of the thrush, blackbird, and jay, are seen in the same gallery.

M. Dalbus on Anglican Orders.

THIRD ARTICLE.

SO far we have confined our attention to the Anglican rite, and have shown that, viewed as a departure from the rite, and the kind of rite, which had been in use in the Church from time immemorial, it is such as to cast the gravest suspicion upon Orders conveyed by it; and that, judged by the combined principles of Catholic theology and human language, it reveals itself to be altogether unsuitable for the transmission of sacramental power. Here we might stop, for the results attained are sufficient to justify the action of the Church in dealing with the Orders of an Anglican convert, and they have the advantage of being independent of the historical obscurities which surround the consecration of Archbishop Parker. Still it will be useful briefly to discuss these obscurities, which are usually discussed in connection with the present question, and which undoubtedly do cast additional doubt on a consecration the invalidity of which must render invalid all the Orders derived from it.

It is hardly necessary to say that we do not defend the Nag's Head story. Excuse may readily be made for those who brought it forward in the reign of James I. They were not fraudulently inventing it, as is sometimes assumed, but were repeating the testimony of witnesses who had evidently seen something—probably the ceremony of Parker's confirmation to the See of Canterbury—and had misunderstood its purport. Still the story is too absurd, and may be relegated to the cupboard of exploded myths, along with the equally absurd story of Pius IV. offering to confirm the Anglican Prayer Book, which can now be similarly traced to the misinterpretation of a remark made by the Cardinal of Lorraine.¹

Nor shall we dispute the reality of the Lambeth ceremony on December 17, 1559, or even the substantial accuracy of the

¹ See *Rome's Witness against Anglican Orders*. Historical Papers, No. 14. Catholic Truth Society.

account in the Lambeth Register. On this last point others may take a different view, and support it by reasons thoroughly worthy of consideration. But to us the case for the Register seems to stand thus. The entries in Parker's and Machyn's Diary suffice to prove conclusively that a ceremony of consecration did take place on the day and at the date stated in the Register, though they tell us nothing about its character. The commissions, which no one denies to be authentic, issued first to Tunstall, Bourne, and others, on September 9, 1559, and, on their refusal, to Kitchen, Barlow, Scory, and others, on December 9, 1559, show that the intention was to have a consecration either by Bishops in actual possession of English sees, or at least by Bishops who had formerly been in possession of English sees. And the well-known paper in the State Paper Office,¹ with Cecil's and Parker's marginal notes, the date of which must be after September, 1559, shows that the details of the ceremony, from the point of view of legality, had been thought out carefully, and especially as to the use of the Edwardine Ordinal. There is thus undeniable evidence that those with whom lay the arbitrament, were desirous of having just such a ceremony as the Lambeth Register describes, and if they had the desire there was nothing whatever to prevent them from carrying it into effect.

Assuming, then, the Lambeth ceremony to be an historical fact, and the account given in the Lambeth Register to be substantially correct; assuming also, for the sake of argument, (although we consider ourselves to have proved the contrary in the last article), that this Edwardine Ordinal may perhaps just suffice to convey valid Orders if used by a valid Bishop; let us now inquire whether the prelate, or prelates, who used it at Parker's consecration possessed the episcopal character.

According to the account in the Register, four Anglican prelates officiated on that occasion, William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgkyns. Of these, Barlow was certainly the principal officiant. He alone of them celebrated the Communion Service, on which the ceremony of consecration was engrafted. To him the candidate was presented by the three others, with the words: "Reverend Father in God, we offer and present to you this devout and learned man, that he

¹ State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* 1559, July, vol. 5. For text, see Estcourt, *Question of Anglican Ordinations*, p. 86.

may be consecrated Archbishop." He, after Parker had taken the Oath of Supremacy, in the words of the rite, invited the people to pray, read the Litanies, questioned the candidate, and said all the prayers and suffrages prescribed. He was joined by the others only in the imposition of hands and in the recitation of the accompanying words: "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God," &c., and in the ceremony, immediately following, of a delivery of the Bible, with the words: "See that thou art diligent in reading," &c.

In view of these facts, the first question to be considered is whether, although Barlow unquestionably took the leading part, all these four prelates were equally and independently the consecrators. If they were, the doubt about Barlow's episcopal character is of no theological importance, since Hodgkyns was undoubtedly consecrated by Cranmer, according to the Catholic Pontifical, on December 9, 1537, whilst Scory and Coverdale undoubtedly underwent a ceremony of consecration by the Edwardine Ordinal on August 30, 1551; and we have agreed, though only for the sake of argument, to treat this Ordinal as sufficient. These being the circumstances, it is very natural for Anglicans to be strongly predisposed in favour of the theory that the ancient practice of requiring at least three Bishops for a consecration was motivated by the desire of securing the Apostolic Succession more effectually from the risk of lapse. But can this theory be substantiated?

One thing, at least, is certain. The early references to the practice attribute it to quite another motive. Thomassin says:

Pope Siricius clearly proves what I have been inculcating with wearisome persistency, namely, that the assembling of Bishops required for a Bishop's consecration, was in order that the Bishop should appear as one chosen by a sort of synodal gathering and judgment. For Bishops were chosen and consecrated at the same time; and they who consecrated them had been their principal electors. . . . In the third Council of Carthage (can. 39), certain Bishops desired to have it decreed that in future no Bishops should be consecrated unless twelve other Bishops were present. . . . The Fathers of the Council of Arles (can. 20) were anxious that at least seven Bishops should attend, but were content with three when more could not come. . . . By the first canon of the Apostles the consecration of a Bishop was allowed to two or three Bishops. The fourth canon of Nicæa desired at least three. . . . Hence it is manifest that if the law and wish of the Church was at first that all the Bishops of the province should be present; if it was

much desired that at least twelve should be present; if others wished for at least seven; if the difficulty of collecting together so many caused three to be considered sufficient; if only two at times were thought enough; if, when necessity constrained to it, a single (Bishop) was declared able to discharge the office (of consecrator); then it is clear that the reason in former days for desiring so many, was in view of the election only. For a single Bishop sufficed for valid ordination, but to avert or suppress tumults over consecrations no number could be too great.¹

Here is the judgment of a competent scholar, not open to any suspicion of ultra-Papal proclivities, and the passage he quotes fully bears him out. Thus St. Siricius (385—398), writing to the Bishops of Africa, says:

That decision is sound which is arrived at by the judgment of many. Let not any one Bishop consecrate a Bishop, on account of arrogance, lest the gift should seem to have been clandestinely bestowed. For this we know was decreed by the Council of Nicæa.

And St. Isidore of Seville (601 *circ.*) writes:

The practice requiring that a Bishop be consecrated, not by one, but by all the comprovincial Bishops, we must recognize as having been introduced on account of heresies, lest the tyrannous authority of a single consecrator should undertake anything adverse to the faith of the Church. Wherefore he (the Bishop) is appointed by all coming together for the purpose, and (in any case) by not less than three present, the rest giving their consent by letters of attestation.²

Ferrandus, too, a writer of the sixth century, is the first to refer to the ancient usage, according to which the Bishops of Rome consecrated without any assistants, an exception which strikingly confirms the interpretation put by Thomassin on the purpose of the law. M. Duchesne likewise writes:

In regard to the installation of the Bishops themselves, it was deemed indispensable to entrust it to an authority of an order more elevated than that of a single Bishop. . . . Hence the obligation of the three Bishops universally recognized since the commencement of the fourth century, except when the consecrator was sufficiently qualified to represent by himself alone the entire episcopate.

That is, when the Pope consecrated, as he explains in a note, where he wonders whether there could be any similar custom at Alexandria.³

¹ *Vetus et Nova Ecclesia Disciplina*, vol. 2, part ii. bk. 2, c. 4.

² *De Officiis Eccles.* ii. c. 5, n. 11.

³ *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 363.

Since the purpose for which three consecrators was originally prescribed was not to obtain additional securities against risk, we cannot assume without positive proof that this latter motive afterwards supervened. Yet, instead of this, we have rather proof of the contrary. In the *Statuta Antiquæ Ecclesiæ*, formerly attributed to the Fourth Council of Carthage, but now thought to give the use of Arles at the beginning of the sixth century, the second canon, describing the rite of consecration, says: "Whilst one says the benediction over him (the candidate) all the other Bishops who are present touch his head with their hands." Here, as only one is to pronounce the essential form, only one can be consecrating; the action of the others, if intended for an act of true consecration, is as ineffective as was that of the blind Bishop who, himself imposing hands, allowed a presbyter to read the form from the book, and whose act was pronounced null and void by the Second Council of Seville, can. 5 (589). For the same reason the assistant Bishops cannot have been regarded as consecrators, in the strict sense, in England before the Reformation; for although, according to the English Pontificals (that of Exeter excepted), they imposed hands in company with the consecrating Bishop, they were directed to do it in silence. In the Exeter Pontifical, and in the Roman, the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c., are pronounced by all, and so far forth these Ordinals might seem to lend themselves more easily to the theory of three independent consecrators, but it has been shown in the first article of this series that the true form is, in the Pontifical at least, not these words, but the prayer *Deus Honorum Omnium*, which is recited in all Catholic Pontificals by one prelate only. This is said of the Western Pontificals, but it is equally true of the Eastern.

Anglican writers pass over these considerations in silence, but are fond of citing a remark of Martène's,¹ who says, "It must be asserted as beyond all possibility of doubt that (all the Bishops present) are not only witnesses, but also co-operators." Martène, however, is only asserting the very doctrine which we have been expounding. A witness, as distinguished from a co-operator, is one who takes upon himself no responsibility for the act done, and Martène means that the assistant Bishops cannot thus discharge themselves from responsibility. They are there as co-operators, in that by their presence and the part they take in the ceremony they give their sanction to the

¹ *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, tom. ii. c. viii. art. 10.

consecration of the elect. It is for this that they are required to impose hands on him. That such is Martène's meaning cannot be doubted by one who reads beyond the words quoted, for he continues: "The Roman Pontiff alone enjoyed the privilege of consecrating Bishops by himself alone;" and then he proceeds to quote the passages from Ferrandus and St. Isidore already given.

It seems clear, then, even if Gasparri and a few Catholic writers have thought otherwise, that there is no intention on the part of the Catholic Church to employ the assistant Bishops as independent consecrators. Still, if the assistant Bishops should intend to consecrate, and should perform each of them the whole of the essential rite, it is difficult to deny that they might be able to carry out their purpose effectually, and so the question remains open, whether such an intention was present to the minds of the four prelates who imposed hands on Parker. This question remains open, and it must continue to remain open, for it is impossible, in the absence of evidence, to say what these men intended. It is a mystery why they did all say the words; the Ordinal which they used directing that only one should say them, and this being the inherited Anglican practice. Canon Estcourt may be right in thinking that they desired to adhere to this extent to the practice of the Exeter Pontifical, or it may have been that, no one of them being an Archbishop, they desired to preserve more or less equality among themselves. In this uncertainty we cannot deny that, if the Ordinal had been sufficient (which, as we have shown, it is not), episcopal character in the others might have sufficed to secure validity. Still, if this possibility must be conceded, it is at best but a bare possibility, for it is one thing to assume that they all intended to consecrate *per modum unius*, and another that each intended to consecrate effectually without reference or dependence on the act of the one who was certainly the consecrator in chief.¹ Hence the question of Barlow's episcopal character is still of sufficient importance to require us to deal with it.

This personage was among the most advanced of the Protestantizing party, and as such was peculiarly obnoxious to all true Catholics. Among the articles stating their demands which were drawn up by the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, we find set down as the fifth grievance that there are Bishops of the King's late promotion who have subverted the

¹ Cf. Benedictus XIV. *De Sacrif. Miss.* iii. c. 16.

· faith of Christ, viz., the Bishops of Canterbury (Cranmer), Rochester (Hilsey), Worcester (Latimer), Salisbury (Shaxton), *St. David's* (Barlow), Dublin (Browne)."¹ This shows that his Protestantism was active, and there are other traces of the fact. Writing to Cromwell from Berwick, whilst on his way to Scotland (Feb. 10, 1536), he laments the religious condition of the Border. "Authority," he says, "must be given to execute justice without fear and partiality; there is no right preaching of God's Word."² He was always, too, in hot water with his Chapter, both at *St. David's* and again at Bath and Wells, and with the people of the neighbourhood, and was probably not wrong when he suspected that, as he put it, "they were aggrieved by his continual preaching and setting forth the King's articles to the reproach of superstition and idolatry, which with blasphemy and delusion of the King's subjects have been shamefully supported."³ How far his heretical opinions went we learn from a letter of Rowland Lee's, the Bishop of Coventry and Lord President of the Marches of Wales, who, writing to Cromwell (Jan. 15, 1537), says: "I received the enclosed articles from *St. David's*, 'wherein and in other such like in that person,' if you were to stay (*i.e.*, hinder it all) for the time, the common people would be better content." The four articles, exhibited by Roger Lewis, LL.B., of *St. David's*, are from a sermon preached by Barlow, and run as follows:

Imprimis, He affirmed and said that whensoever two or three simple persons, as two cobblers or weavers, were in company, and elected, in the name of God, there was the true Church. *Item*, That it is not expedient to man to confess himself but only to God. . . . *Item*, That there is nor was any purgatory. . . . *Item*, If the King's grace, being supreme Head of the Church of England, did choose or denominate and elect any layman, being learned, to be a Bishop, that he so chosen, without mention of any Orders, should be as good a Bishop as he is or the best in England.⁴

This sermon was preached in November, 1536, a few months after Barlow's appointment to *St. David's*; and that the objectionable doctrine did not lie on the surface of his mind is manifested by the answers he gave in 1540 to the Seventeen Questions on the Sacraments, drawn up apparently by Cranmer,

¹ See also his name similarly mentioned by the adherents of the Lincolnshire rising at the same time. C.S.P. *Henry VIII. Dom.* Oct. 1536, No. 828, v.

² C.S.P. *Ibid.* n. 286.

³ Letter to Cromwell, April 7, 1537. (C.S.P. n. 830.)

⁴ Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. App. n. 77.

and proposed to the Commission then appointed. Barlow and Cranmer stand out from among the rest in the decisive and uncompromising language with which they declare that at the beginning priests and bishops were all one, that bishops have no power to make priests without authority from Christian princes, and that no consecration, but only appointment, is necessary.¹ To this account of his doctrinal errors we may add that he was a friar who had apostatized from his vows and taken a wife, that he was charged with stripping the lead off the roof of the Cathedral of Bath and selling it for his own enrichment, and that, according to Cranmer, he was too jocose, and apt to bring serious matters to the test of ridicule.² Such is the picture handed down to us of the man to whom Parker, not surely without reluctance, was obliged to have recourse, and whom he made the principal agent in his consecration.

The facts relative to Barlow's ecclesiastical status of which there is indisputable evidence are the following. He was elected to the see of St. Asaph on Jan. 16, 1535-6, and the election, receiving the Royal Assent on Feb. 22, was confirmed by Cranmer on the same or on the following day; for the certificate of confirmation was returned to the Chancery on Feb. 23. He was confirmed, however, by proxy, being himself at the time in Scotland, whither he had departed on Jan. 22 in company with Lord William Howard, on an embassy to James V., not returning thence till about the beginning of April. During his absence a vacancy occurred in the more valuable see of St. David's, and to this he was at once transferred, his election by the Chapter taking place on April 10, 1536, and the Royal Assent being issued on April 20. By this time he had returned from Scotland, and appeared on April 21 at Bow Church to receive confirmation in person. On April 26 he received an instrument on the nature and significance of which something may depend, but which for the present we will call, with Mason and most Anglican writers, his *Restitution of Temporalities*. On April 27 he received a Writ of Summons to the House of Lords, in view of the approaching meeting of Parliament. After his confirmation on April 21, and his "Restitution" of Temporalities on April 26, he apparently sent an express down at once into Wales with a view to his installation by proxy; for in the *Inquisition as to the Vacancies of the Bishopric of St. David's*,

¹ Burnet's *Collection*, pt. i. bk. 3, n. 21. Pocock's Edition, iv. p. 443.

² Hook's *Life of Cranmer*, vol. iv. p. 239.

and the disposal of the Temporalities of the same, made on April 17, 1551,¹ he is stated to have taken possession of his see on May 1, 1536. How long he remained in Scotland on this last visit is not known, but he must have returned before June 30, and may possibly have returned by June 11. On June 30 he took his seat in the House of Lords, taking the lowest place after Sampson of Chichester and Reppes of Norwich, who had both been consecrated on June 11, and this was the precedence which he continued to hold on all subsequent occasions in respect of the Prelates who received consecration after June 30. Barlow remained in possession of St. David's until 1549, when he was translated by Edward VI. to Bath and Wells. Here he remained till the accession of Mary, when, either by deprivation or by a timely resignation, his connection with the see was severed, and he fled to the Continent. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned, and was eventually—all the Catholic Bishops, not excepting the weak-minded Kitchen—refusing, placed first on the list of the disreputables selected to consecrate Parker.

What has so far been set down is certain and undisputed, but we have now to consider the evidences for believing or disbelieving that he was ever consecrated. It will have been noticed that, in the list of certain facts directly certified by documentary evidence, there has been no mention of consecration, nor is there any such evidence to be found. It is true that Godwin, who wrote in 1615, states categorically that he was consecrated to St. Asaph on Feb. 22, 1536,² but Godwin cites no authority, and the date is impossible. On Feb. 22 the Royal Assent to his election to that see was issued, as we know from the Patent Rolls, and Barlow was at the time in Scotland. Besides, we shall have presently decisive evidence that he would not at all events have been consecrated before June of that year, nor does any one now believe that he was. In short, the only evidence for Barlow's consecration, if it ever existed, must be obtained through inference.

Anglican writers persistently repeat that the sole ground on

¹ Estcourt, App. ix.

² *De Prasulibus Angliæ*. Inter Episcopos St. Asaphi. Wood (*Athenæ Oxonienses*, I. 364. Bliss's Edition), says he was restored to the temporalities of St. Asaph on February 2, 1536, and refers us to the Patent Rolls, (27 Henry VII. p. 2.) No such document is found there, and again the date is impossible. Temporalities would certainly not have been restored before the Royal Assent to the election.

which we question Barlow's consecration is because it is not entered in Cranmer's Register. So too M. Dalbus, "The Register of Consecrations bears no traces of this consecration. No *proces-verbal*, no account of it was drawn up: and this is the reason, the only reason, why the reality of the fact of Barlow's consecration has been doubted."¹ We are then reminded that several other consecrations which should have occurred about the same time are also unregistered, and among them that of Gardiner, so that, if we question Barlow's consecration merely because it is not registered, we ought also in consistency to question Gardiner's, and with his the consecrations derived from it. As Gardiner was the principal consecrator of Heath, and Heath of Pole, these writers imagine that they have forced us into the dilemma of either withdrawing our objection against Barlow, or doubting the Orders of Cardinal Pole and others. They have even been at the pains of considerable research and calculation to set down the far-reaching evil effects which, on the principle imputed to us, must have followed from the want of record of Gardiner's consecration. They might have saved themselves the trouble. Had they challenged us to produce the official record of consecration of a single Bishop in the third century we should have been obliged to let the challenge go by.

Catholics are not so foolish as to lay stress on a mere absence of registration. Their scepticism about Barlow's consecration is not based on a single omission, but on several omissions and some facts, all pointing in the same direction. It is quite true that several consecrations about that time were not entered in the Archiepiscopal Register, but referring to Bishop Stubbs's² useful little tables, Canon Estcourt notices that "in every other case of a diocesan Bishop, when the Register is wanting, (Bishop Stubbs) is able to supply evidence from the Diocesan Registers, from Rymer, or elsewhere; but in Barlow's case he can only refer to 'Haddan on Bramhall.'"³ That there should be no evidence anywhere of Barlow's consecration, and of his alone, among the consecrations of the period is surely significant when we couple the omission with the opinions about consecration which he is known to have entertained. The combination of the two may fall short of proof that he was

¹ P. 17.

² *Episcopal Succession in England*, p. 77.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 80.

not consecrated, but it justifies serious suspicions, which are not removed by a more minute examination into the details.

The principal instruments which, according to the practice prevailing in 1536, should have been executed in connection with an episcopal appointment, are these eight :

(1) The *Royal Assent* to the election of the Chapter, and (2) the *Mandate* to consecrate, both directed to the Metropolitan. The necessity of these two instruments had originated with the then recent schism. Before that sad event, almost every episcopal appointment having for more than two centuries been made directly by the Pope, the procedure was for the Pope to signify his appointment to the King, with a view to the Restitution of Temporalities, and to the elect with a permission to choose for his consecrators any three Bishops in communion with the Holy See. Henry VIII. in 1534, the better to interrupt all communication with Rome, caused the passing of an Act (25 Henry VIII. c. 20) by which an entirely new procedure was substituted. According to this, the Dean and Chapter of the vacant see, on receiving the *cong  d' lire* and the letters missive indicating the candidate whom the King desired, were to elect the latter without delay and certify the fact to the Crown. On receiving this certificate, the King, if he approved, issued a document called the "Royal Assent," and another called the "Significavit," both directed to the Archbishop. These two classes of instruments should be distinguished. The Royal Assent at the period with which we are dealing varied much in its language, and at times is practically equivalent to the Significavit, but its primary purpose was merely to announce to the Archbishop the fact of the Royal Assent, in order that he might be free to discharge his part in the appointment. The simplest and most natural form of its operative clause ran thus : "This (Royal Assent) we signify to you, in order that you may do your part in the matter." In this simplest form no reference is made to consecration as among the duties to be discharged by the Archbishop, but at other times confirmation, consecration, &c., are expressly mentioned. The Significavit was a mandate. It rested on 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20, to which it usually referred in express terms, and ordered the Archbishop to confirm, consecrate, &c., the elect within twenty days from the date of its receipt, under penalty of *pr munire* : the limit of days and the penalty being added to compel the Archbishop not to wait for Bulls from Rome. The operative clause in a Significavit ran

thus: "Asking and, in the faith and love by which you are bound to us, strictly commanding you effectually to confirm the aforesaid elect and consecrate him Bishop of —, and to invest him according to custom with the episcopal insignia, and do all else in this business which belongs to your Pastoral Office, according to the form of the statute." The *Significavit*, for the reasons stated, had no pre-Reformation precedent, nor had the Royal Assent in the case of episcopal appointments. The latter was in use, however, in the appointment of those Abbots whose confirmation and benediction, on the Royal Assent being given, even before the Reformation appertained to the Bishop or Metropolitan. Both the Royal Assent and the *Significavit* should be entered in the Archbishop's Register.

(3) *The License of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.* On receiving the Royal Mandate, the Archbishop, through his Dean of Arches (in the Province of Canterbury) confirmed the election at Bow Church, and then made a return of the fact to the Crown. This, by the way, for we are not concerned with confirmation at present. By an ancient privilege of the Prior and Convent (later the Dean and Chapter) of Canterbury, no Bishops of the Province could be consecrated outside their Cathedral without a special license from them. This license should be enrolled in the Court of Faculties of the Prior and Convent (or Dean and Chapter) of Canterbury.

(4) *The Record of the Consecration in the Archiepiscopal Register*, and (5) the *Certificate of the same* to the Crown. If the confirmation and consecration took place within the twenty days, the practice was to certify them both in the same instrument. This instrument (or these instruments) should likewise be entered in the Archiepiscopal Register. The Record of the Consecration should also (6) be entered in the *Register of the Bishop consecrated*; and if the consecration were not done by the Archbishop himself, but by another acting under his commission, (7) this *commission* should be entered in the Register of the Archbishop.

(8) *The Restitution of Temporalities.* This writ was not an instrument necessarily connected with the consecration of a new prelate, but it is set down here, because by the terms of 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20, restitution could not be sued out until consecration had taken place, and consecration was therefore usually recited in the writ, which thus becomes another source of evidence as to the condition having been fulfilled.

Here are eight documents to which we naturally turn when seeking evidence that a Bishop of the period had been consecrated; and if, as Canon Estcourt noticed, Bishop Stubbs has been able to find some direct evidence for the consecration of all other Bishops of the period save Barlow, it is from some one or other of these eight instruments that he has obtained it. Thus, although Gardiner's consecration is not entered in Cranmer's Register, the commission to consecrate him is, according to Archbishop Wake,¹ entered under date November 27, 1531, and the consecration itself is entered in Gardiner's Register as having taken place on December 3, 1531. So, too, the consecrations of Fox of Hereford, Sampson of Chichester, and Reppes of Norwich, are not entered at Lambeth; but that of Fox is certified, as intended, in the *Significavit*, and, as accomplished, in Fox's own Register and in his Writ of Restitution; that of Sampson in his Writ of Restitution, and that of Reppes in his Writ of Restitution, and in Cranmer's Certificate to the King. On the other hand, in Barlow's case, and his alone, no single one of these eight sources supplies evidence of a consecration.

All save the Royal Assent are missing, but the absence of two of them can be satisfactorily explained. The records of the Court of Faculties of Canterbury between 1531 and 1541, have, as we learn from Archbishop Wake,² perished through fire and other causes; and the records of St. David's were destroyed by the vandalism of Ferrar, Barlow's successor in the see.³ The Royal Assent is forthcoming for the appointment to St. Asaph as well as for that to St. David's, but in both cases it runs in the simple form which does not specify the duties expected of the Archbishop—"This (Royal Assent) we signify to you in order that you may do your part in the matter." Thus we are left to face (1) the indefiniteness of this Royal Assent, and the absence (2) of the Mandate to consecrate, (3) of the Record of Consecration, (4) of the Certificate of Consecration, (5) of the Restitution of Temporalities, and (to meet the hypothesis of his having been consecrated by a Suffragan Bishop) (6) of the Commission to consecrate. A *deficit* to this extent is much more than the single deficit of an entry in one Register; more in the number of omissions it includes, and still more in the suspicions

¹ Ap. Courayer, App. art. ix. p. 348. Oxford Edition of 1844.

² Courayer, *Ibid.* p. 347.

³ *Inquisition into the Vacancies*, &c. (Estcourt, App. ix.)

it raises, when relating to a man who had declared his disbelief in the efficacy of the ceremony.

But it will be said, the Royal Assent was equivalent to a Mandate to consecrate, and his grant of temporalities, not being in the form of a restitution, and being issued by way of exception some time before the probable date of his consecration, naturally did not recite his consecration as effected.

We must answer that a Royal Assent, such as Barlow received, is not equivalent to a Mandate to consecrate. The Archbishop had several functions to discharge; he had to confirm, to consecrate, to invest with episcopal insignia, to instal, and to certify what he had done. A general phrase like that used in Barlow's case, might refer to all or any of these according to agreement with the King, and so form a convenient cover for the omission of consecration if that was contemplated. On the other hand, if consecration was intended, it would either have been named in the Royal Assent, as in Fox's case, or else good care would have been taken to add a quite explicit *Significavit*. Nor is there anything of the Mandate about this particular Royal Assent, although, as we have noticed, there is about some others. It orders nothing; it only notifies. This is of no small importance, for it is sometimes argued that Barlow and Cranmer could not have omitted the consecration without incurring *præmunire*, which they would never have risked. But 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20, under no circumstances threatens the prelate-elect with *præmunire* for not getting consecrated, and only threatens the Archbishop with it if he should refuse prompt obedience to the mandate; so that where there was no mandate there was no danger of *præmunire*.

This complete absence of any papers relating to consecration receives a still further significance from the fact that the evidence relating to all the other aspects of Barlow's appointment is forthcoming. The *congé d'élire* is on the Patent Rolls; the Royal Assent (April 20) and the Certificate of Confirmation (April 21), are in the Archbishop's Register; the Grant of Temporalities (April 26) is on the Exchequer Rolls of the Remembrancer of the Lord Treasurer; and, from the *Inquisition into the Vacancies of St. David's*, cited higher up, we know that he received actual possession of his see on May 1st. We have also the Summons to Parliament (April 27).

It may be said, Yes, and these documents largely explain

the absence of the others. The Certificate of Confirmation and the Writ of Summons, by mentioning confirmation only, show clearly that the consecration did not take place at that time, and hence not till June; for during the interval Barlow went back again to Scotland. Doubtless the consecration took place on June 11th, or on one of the two following Sundays, which would explain why he took his seat below Sampson and Reppes, both consecrated on June 11. Since it was foreseen that he could not be conveniently consecrated before this date, no wonder that consecration is not referred to in the Royal Assent of April 20. All this may sound plausible, but why are not another series of documents relating to Consecration to be found bearing the later date—*Significavit*, Entry of Consecration, Certificate of Consecration, all or some of them?

We have dwelt thus long on the purely negative evidences that their full value may be better appreciated than is usual among Anglicans. But now comes a piece of positive evidence which needs to be carefully considered.

Mason published¹ what he called Barlow's "Writ of Restitution of Temporalities," under date April 26, 1536, or rather, he published a portion of this document, just enough to make it bear the appearance of a Writ of Restitution, which in fact it is not. The temporalities of a bishopric, though in the estimation of the Holy See they belonged to the Church, were regarded by the Crown as a fief the possession of which lapsed to itself as the overlord during a vacancy. When the vacancy was refilled, the practice was to restore them to the new incumbent, who, as soon as his appointment to the see was complete, obtained a freehold in its temporalities and could sue their restitution out of the hands of the King's Escheators. The writ by which this was done was called the Writ of Restitution. At times, however, the Crown wishing to show special favour to a new prelate, would make him a further grant of the fruits that had fallen in from his temporalities during the vacancy. The grant by which this was done was called a Custody of the Temporalities. It is important to note the differences between these two instruments. (1) There is a distinction of term. A Writ of Restitution restores the temporalities to the new prelate from the day when the see is legally refilled, to be held as long as the new Bishop holds the see. A Writ of Custody grants the temporalities for the

¹ *De Minist. Anglic.* lib. iii. cap. 10.

period of the vacancy, and for that only. (2) There is a distinction of title. A Writ of Restitution is what its name implies, a writ of right, not a grant. It acknowledges and enforces a prior and independent right in the person to whom it is granted. This prior right is the freehold attaching to the occupancy of the see. When the occupancy is legally complete, it becomes a duty for the Crown to liberate what no longer belongs to it. A Writ of Custody is a free grant. The Crown regards itself as the true possessor during vacancy, and if it delivers the temporalities to the prelate before his freehold commences, it delivers them as a free grant out of special favour, not in recognition of any obligation. (3) There is a distinction of language. A Writ of Restitution, not granting anything, is in the form of a set of letters addressed to the King's Escheators in the counties where the temporalities of the see lie, announcing to them the new appointment which terminates the Royal escheat, and directing them to deliver up possession to the new occupant. A Writ of Custody, being a grant, is in the form of letters patent announcing to all concerned that the Crown makes the grant, and it invariably contains, as the Writ of Restitution does not and cannot, the phrases proper to a free grant, "of special favour," "of mere motion" (*i.e.*, "spontaneous inclination"), and "for special causes."

With these explanations we can appreciate the peculiar nature of the instrument by which Barlow obtained possession of his temporalities¹ on April 26, 1536. It was neither an ordinary writ of restitution, nor an ordinary grant of custody, but a curious mixture of the two. Its form is that of a free grant, and it contains the clauses appropriate to a free grant "of special favour," "of mere motion," "for special causes." It gives the temporalities, not merely during the vacancy, but from the commencement of vacancy to the end of life ("for the duration of his natural life"): and yet it assigns the vacancy of the see as the sole ground of this life-long tenure: it entitles him throughout his life to hold possession of his temporalities, not in virtue of a title acquired *de jure* by legal possession of the see, but in virtue of a special grant from the Crown given in view of a vacancy destined to continue. The natural inference is that his fulfilment of all the conditions requisite for acquirement of the *de jure* title was not contemplated as a thing to come; for this peculiar grant which, being made such for his life, was manifestly

¹ For the text, see *Estcourt*, App. iv.

not intended to be presently surrendered. There is also another noticeable feature in this document. Although it assigns as the title of the grant the King's possession during vacancy of the see, it nevertheless in the preamble describes Barlow as "now Bishop" in virtue of Cranmer's act who had "accepted and confirmed his election and had set the said elect as Bishop and Pastor over the aforesaid Church of Menevia." This was the ordinary style of the times previous to the schism, but had been abandoned since it began, and reads very strangely in an instrument which is about to assign as the ground of the grant, not the filling up, but the continued vacancy of the see.¹

Such a grant as this is absolutely without parallel, and there must have been some reason for its exceptional character. What that reason may have been we can only conjecture, and it certainly does look as if it were to enable Barlow to obtain all he cared for in his bishopric without consecration. So soon after 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20, which required consecration before the restitution of temporalities, it may have seemed doubtful if without consecration a freehold in the temporalities could arise *de jure*. A free grant for life, on account of vacancy, would supply the defect. In like manner a return to the old method made him "now Bishop," through archiepiscopal appointment alone, whereas again by the same Act he could not otherwise

¹ Anglican writers find a parallel in the grant of temporalities to Bishop Ferrar (1548), Barlow's successor at St. David's, though why they should mention Ferrar only is not clear, since every Bishop appointed under Edward got a grant of exactly the same tenour as he. But there is no real parallel between these cases and Barlow's. They got a restitution, though in the form prescribed by 1 Edward VI. c. 2, which dispensed with elections by the Chapter and confirmations by the Archbishop, and enacted that in future the King should appoint by letters patent. In these letters patent the appointment is always first made in the King's name, and then the restitution follows; or rather the grant in perpetuity follows, for, to exaggerate the royal power, the grant was in these Edwardine letters patent always declared to be a special favour, not a due. There is, therefore, a similarity of language between these grants and Barlow's grant to this extent, that they are both of special grace, and both employ the phrase "for his whole life" (*durante vita naturali*); but there is also this essential difference, that in Barlow's case a grant for life is motivated by the vacancy of the see, in the case of Ferrar and the rest by their appointment to the see. Nor does Bonner's writ for the temporalities of London offer a precedent for Barlow's. Bonner received a writ of restitution in view of appointment, not a life-grant in view of vacancy; a writ, therefore, which would accommodate itself to his freehold whenever it should fall in, whereas Barlow's grant would require a formal surrender before the usual title to a freehold could be obtained; and Bonner's writ contemplated consecration as a thing to come, whereas Barlow's grant seems to contemplate it as a thing not to come. And again, Bonner's writ is of three years later date than Barlow's, so that to the small extent to which they agree in character Barlow's was the precedent for Bonner's, not Bonner's for Barlow's.

have become "now Bishop," able to proceed to installation, before he had received consecration. Here, then, we have another piece of evidence, not perhaps decisive in itself, but which by pointing in the same direction as the complete absence of all the usual instruments relating to consecration, and the complexion of Barlow's doctrinal views, contributes to swell the probabilities against belief in his episcopal character.

And then there are some later documents from which we might have expected, but do not find, precise information about Barlow's consecration. One is a notice of the man by his Catholic grand-nephew, the author of the *Speculum Protestantismi*, who there says: "Dr. Barlow was consecrated Bishop of St. David's in 1536, and sat there thirteen years." Anglicans take such a notice by a member of the family as conclusive, but others may find it more striking that a member of the family should not have been able to assign the date with greater exactness. The passage reads as if the writer knew 1536 was the year of entrance into the see, and, assuming consecration (for, as we shall see presently, the omission would have had to be kept tolerably private), referred to the appointment under this name.

The other document characterized by the same strange inability to tell us anything definite about Barlow's consecration, is the transcript of a portion of the Register of Parker's consecration, which is among the MSS. of Foxe, the so-called Martyrologist. This document commences with an account of Bonner's consecration, perhaps copied from his Register, then passes to the transcript from Parker's Register, and finishes with a record of the consecration of Parker's consecrators. It does not refer to Hodgkyns, but gives with accuracy the dates, &c., of the consecration of Scory and Coverdale. Of Barlow it merely says: "William Barlow was consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII." The transcript from Bonner's Register seems to fix the date of the document down to the time of Bonner's refusal to recognize the legality of Parker's, and through him of Horne's consecration. If so, the date must be about 1565, but in any case, being among Foxe's MSS., this document must have been written before 1578, when Foxe died. Barlow died in 1568. Is it not suspicious that an author of this early date, who had access to the Registers, and was interested in the subject, should not have been able to obtain more definite information about Parker's chief consecrator than this? Does it not look as if

he too were forced to write so vaguely because the subject was wrapped up in mystery?

But as we are dealing in this question with a balance of probabilities, it is time to consider what there is to throw into the opposite scale. Among the classical works in defence of Anglican Orders, Mason, Courayer, and Bramhall occupy a front place, but one is struck nowadays on reading them to find how many of their prime arguments have been rendered obsolete by the conclusion now taken as certain on both sides that Barlow was at all events not consecrated before June 11. It might be interesting to substantiate this statement by a detailed account of these obsolete arguments, but as space is limited, we shall confine our attention to those which still remain in the field.

In the first place, there are the feelings of Cranmer and of Henry VIII., with which, if Barlow desired to avoid consecration, he must have had to reckon. We set this consideration down as though it told in favour of Barlow's consecration, since Anglicans take that view of it, but in reality it seems to tell against it. Cranmer's views on episcopacy in 1540—that is, three years subsequent to Barlow's appointment—coincided exactly with Barlow's. In their answers to the Seventeen Questions on the Sacraments¹ above referred to, these two men symbolize together throughout, and in so doing stand apart from the rest. We have heard what Barlow's reply was, and Cranmer, in answer to the Ninth Question, says:

The ministers of God's word, under His Majesty, be the Bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his Highness to that ministration. . . . In the admission of these officers (the civil, as Lord Chancellors, &c., the ecclesiastical, as Bishops, &c.), be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed. And there is no more promise of God that grace be given in committing of the ecclesiastical office than it is in the committing of the civil.¹

There is a good deal more of the same sort both from Cranmer and Barlow among their Answers, but what has been given suffices to prove that in 1540 they both thought consecration an unnecessary ceremony. It is said, on the other side, that Cranmer's Erastian opinions were not firmly fixed

¹ Burnet, *op. cit.* iv. p. 467.

even in 1540, and probably not held at all in 1536: not fixed in 1540, because, in subscribing his name to his Answers he wrote, "This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which, however, I do not temerariouſly define, but do remit the judgment wholly unto your Majesty:" and not held in 1536 because, between the two dates came the publication of the *Bishop's Book*, in all probability composed largely by Cranmer himſelf, and certainly ſubſcribed by him.¹ But, in a perſon like Cranmer, the proviſo in his ſubſcription is a mark, not of mental hesitation, but of readineſs to ſubſcribe to any doctrine the King ſhould require; and we muſt interpret his ſubſcriptions, and even his labours of compoſition over the *Bishop's Book*—not that that book really contradicts his Eraſtian ſentiments—and the *King's Book*, on the ſame principles. He, and in fact all of them, were prepared to ſign what the majority voted, whether it repreſented their true perſonal belief or not. Beſides, the Eraſtian doctrine in queſtion is only the logical outcome of Cranmer's undoubted belief in the Royal ſource of all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and this belief he expreſſed as early as 1536 or 1537,¹ when on the Commiſſion to draw up the Ten Articles: "You . . . are to agree . . . whether ſuch ceremonies as Confirmation, Orders, or Annealing, *which cannot be proved to be inſtituted of Chriſt*, or to certify us of remiſſion of ſins, ought to be called ſacraments."

There does not then ſeem reaſon to think that Cranmer would have oppoſed himſelf violently to Barlow, had Barlow come to him with ſome ſuch propoſal as this: "Do you ſee any way of eſcape for me from having to undergo this ceremony

¹ It is alſo urged (Denny, *Anglican Orders and Jurisdiction*, p. 72), (1) that Cranmer's ſignature is attached to Dr. Leighton's Answers to the Seventeen Queſtions, evidently to ſignify his agreement with their doctrine, which is ſlightly more orthodox than Cranmer's own. But it is futile to ſuppoſe that Cranmer *ſimultaneouſly* ſent in his own moſt unorthodox Answers and gave his adheſion to others of a different complexion. His ſignature is obviously merely to authenticate the document. (2) That the author of another ſet of Answers to theſe Queſtions, whom Strype (*Life of Cranmer*, bk. i. c. 20) ſuppoſes to have been Thirlby (but ſee Dixon, *History of Church of England*, ii. p. 305), and who approximates much more to orthodoxy than Leighton, has ſet down Cranmer's and Barlow's names (with Cox's) in the margin oppoſite ſeveral of his ſtatements, thoſe on Orders included. It is argued that here again the names are thus written in the margin to mark the agreement of theſe perſons with the doctrine in the text. But, again, it is futile to ſuppoſe that Cranmer *ſimultaneouſly* affirmed and denied the ſame doctrines. It would be truer to ſay the names are written in the margin to mark that the ſtatements in the text are directed againſt theſe men.

¹ See Dixon, i. p. 413.

of consecration? I do not in the least believe in its necessity, and I should be quite content to rest the validity of my episcopal acts on the Royal appointment. I would gladly indeed undergo the ceremony if we had a suitable Ordinal, but the present Ordinal is full of superstitious language and rites, professing to bestow upon us an absurd interior consecration, and to give us power to offer up the abominable Sacrifice of the Mass. I cannot abide it, and I know very well that, although you have to sacrifice your feelings to the exigencies of your position, you dislike it as much as I do."

But what would the King say? For it must be axiomatic that neither Barlow nor Cranmer would have ventured on any proposal displeasing to the King; they had far too great a regard for their skins to do that. Henry, however, may very possibly have found the idea rather attractive than otherwise. We have his annotations to some of the aforesaid Answers ascribed to Thirlby. Where the Answer to the Ninth Question assumes a radical distinction between Appointment and Ordination, the King annotates, "Where is this distinction found?" Where this answer goes on to say that the Apostles took upon themselves to appoint, because Christian princes did not then exist, the King writes triumphantly: "Now, since you confess that the Apostles did occupy the one part, which you now confess belongs to Christian princes, how can you prove that Ordering is only committed to you Bishops?"¹ This was in 1540, the date of the Answers, or between this date and 1543, when the matter was brought before Convocation. The *Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, brought out in 1543 with a Royal Preface, gives more orthodox doctrine, whence Anglicans conclude that Henry's annotations represent only his disputatious spirit and not his real mind. Of course we can have no certainty, but it is difficult to read the annotations and not feel that they do express his real mind; and, as for the public denial, even Henry, autocrat that he was, could recognize the necessity of some deference, in his official language, to the Catholic instincts of the people with whom he had to deal.

For these reasons it seems not impossible that Barlow may have asked leave to take his see without consecration, and that Henry may have assented to a step so consonant with his claim of Supreme Headship; the understanding being that, for

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, App. n. 28.

prudential reasons, the omission should be kept as private as possible ; a thing which in those days would have been more easy than in ours.

Another point which has been set down as inconsistent with Barlow not having been consecrated, is the very expression, already cited, which he used at St. David's to show his contempt for consecration : " If the King's grace, being Supreme Head of the Church of England, did choose to denominate any layman being learned to be a Bishop, that he so chosen without mention of any Orders should be as good a Bishop as he, or the best in England." This, say Anglican writers, is to acknowledge that he himself had been consecrated, and doubtless that would be the construction put upon the words by his hearers generally. On the other hand, if his avoidance of consecration had been kept secret from them, it would be very natural for him to use the same words with a *double entendre*, one for his hearers generally, another for any in the secret, as well as for his own future protection if discovery should occur later on.

But would it have been possible to keep the matter secret ? Here two reasons for a reply in the negative are put forward very confidently. First, it is said that he could not have kept the secret, because a Bishop before consecration cannot grant leases, so that as soon as Barlow proceeded to lease or alienate property, evidence of his consecration would have been demanded.

It would be presumptuous for one who is not a lawyer to decide so knotty a legal point as this ; but we may comment upon the evidence which a *catena* of Anglican writers consider sufficient to decide it with certainty in their own favour. They appeal to no opinion of any ecclesiastical lawyer taken on the subject, but borrow one after another from Mason,¹ who, writing in 1616, endeavours thus to turn against the Catholic writer, Champney, an argument the latter had employed. Champney, endeavouring to prove that Edwardine Orders were not recognized by the Marian authorities, quotes a passage from Brook's *Reports* which runs thus :

Dicitur, that Bishops in the time of Edward VI. were not consecrated, and so were not Bishops, and that therefore leases for terms of years granted by such persons, even though confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, do not bind the successor ; for such were never

¹ *Vindicia Eccles. Angl.* p. 366.

Bishops. It is otherwise with (the leases of) a Bishop deprived who was a Bishop *de facto* at the time of the deprivation, if they were confirmed (by the Dean and Chapter). Note the Diversity (2nd of Mary.)¹

Why is it, that whilst this argument is still advanced as certain, no mention is ever made of the answer given to it by Archbishop Wake in his letter to Courayer?² Wake, referring to Champney, says he wishes the argument were sound, as it would prove convincingly the consecration of a man who, when afterwards at Bath and Wells, alienated a large portion of its possessions. Unfortunately, he continues, Brook is not giving a judicial decision, but at most an *obiter dictum* propounded in court. It may have been occasioned by the arguments over the case of *Car v. Letchmore*, which turned on the validity of Ridley's leases, but as these were disputed on the ground of his intrusion into the see whilst its true incumbent still lived, the question of consecration did not then arise directly, nor could it in any case have arisen in respect of Ridley, who was consecrated by the old Pontifical. We had better therefore disregard this *dictum*, which, being such, is, in any case, inconclusive.

The more so, as it is not easy to see how it could hold good, in any case, of leases granted by Edwardine Bishops. A Bishop's right to grant leases, so far as it springs from his freehold in the temporalities, must commence with the commencement of possession. Previously to the Act of 1534 (25 Henry VIII. cap. 20), and subsequently to its repeal by the Act of 1547 (1 Edward VI. cap. 2), possession of a see was obtained by appointment through Papal Bulls or Royal Letters Patent respectively; restitution of temporalities being granted previously to consecration and independently of it.³ Thus, at all events for Edwardine Bishops, as for Bishops before the schism, the presence or absence of consecration could have had no bearing on their acquirement of freehold and power to lease.

But what of the Bishops appointed between 1534 and 1547, to which number Barlow belongs? During this period, conformably with the Act of 1534, the regular procedure was, as

¹ Anglicans seem to forget that in using this argument they are acknowledging that under Mary their Orders were rejected. On the other hand, it is possible for us to gather from the passage in Brook that the invalidity of their Orders was taken as certain, and yet think that the author of the *dictum* was mistaken in his inference.

² Courayer, *op. cit.* p. 363.

³ See Haddan on Bramhall, p. 155, note a.

we have seen, not to grant restitution till after consecration. Was the effect of this Act, by inserting consecration as a step previous to restitution, to make consecration a necessary preliminary for entrance into the freehold, or was its effect merely to delay till after consecration the liberation of temporalities, the right to which had accrued with confirmation? We have suggested that the peculiar character of Barlow's grant may have been due in part to a doubt how to solve this very question; but, on the other hand, the fact that three years later, when Bonner was given his temporalities before consecration, he got them by writ of restitution, not by special grant, seems to imply that by that time they had determined the latter of the two above-mentioned alternatives to be according to the law.

As the question of leases granted before consecration has been raised, we have thought it worth while to examine it at this length, but, so far as Barlow is concerned, it seems a question quite irrelevant. Whether or not the special grant by which Barlow received the temporalities of St. David's was designed precisely in order to meet any difficulty about his tenure, the language of the instrument, at all events, appears to involve a grant. It grants an estate for life, and it "gives and concedes . . . all and every advantage, commodity, fee, and all other emoluments whatsoever . . . in manner and form as ample as that by which the aforesaid Richard Rawlins, late Bishop, and his predecessors, the late Bishops, held and received [the temporalities] when the see was filled [by them], in virtue of the deeds of our predecessors the former Kings of England, or otherwise, if any of them held or received their temporalities in a better and freer way." Language like this, we imagine, will cover satisfactorily the right to lease; but, we repeat, in a question so thoroughly legal we can only throw out a view in the hopes that legal readers, having their attention called to a point of real interest, may give us their opinions upon it.

A second reason why it is thought that Barlow could not have kept secret his want of consecration is from his having taken his seat in the House of Lords. This is a point much relied upon by Anglican writers, but once more the evidence on which they base their contention is somewhat obsolete. Courayer says: "It is an indisputable fact, that although before Edward III., there are some examples of Bishops sitting in

Parliament before consecration, there is not one to be met with of their sitting there since his time,"¹ and Bramhall speaks in a similar sense.² So sweeping and confident a statement might impress the more, did not the authors disclose the reasons by which they are led to it. "To have a seat in the House of Lords, it is necessary to present the King's Warrant, by virtue of which one was put into possession of the temporalities; and this instrument, as we have seen, is not given but upon the certificate of consecration."³ One does not know whether by Warrant Courayer means the Writ of Restitution of Temporalities, or the Writ of Summons to Parliament. But it is now so clearly demonstrated as to be admitted on both sides, that Barlow could not have been consecrated before June 11th, whereas he got his Grant of the Temporalities of St. David's on April 26th, and his Writ of Summons on April 27th of the same year. Courayer's and Bramhall's sweeping statements, therefore, repeated though they be by writers as recent as Mr. Denny,⁴ must either be discarded altogether, or else transferred to the other side of the argument; for it is certain that Barlow did get his Writ of Summons before consecration, and no one will question that with his Writ of Summons he could take his seat in the House of Lords, with the full rights appertaining to it. Nor to do this did he require to say anything about his consecration; his writ was sufficient.

But how about his place of precedence? It is needful to bear the following dates clearly in mind: Dates of Consecration—Fox, Bishop of Hereford, was consecrated September 26, 1535: Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and Reppes, Bishop of Norwich, both on June 11, 1536: Wharton, Barlow's successor at St. Asaph, on July 2, 1536. Dates of taking seat in the House of Lords—Sampson took his seat on June 12th; Reppes on June 17th; *Barlow* on June 30th; Fox (who had been abroad) on July 4th; and Wharton a few days later.

Passing over Wharton for the moment, we understand from these dates the principle on which the precedency of the others was determined. Sampson, presenting his writ on June 12th, was admitted "to his place of precedence, saving the right

¹ Op. cit. p. 63.

² Op. cit. p. 156.

³ Courayer, *Ibid.*

⁴ Op. cit. p. 61. Gibson (*Codex Juris Eccles. Angl.* i. p. 148), says distinctly that "a Bishop *confirmed* may sit in Parliament as a Lord thereof."

of any other." That is, he got his place of precedence, but as he was the last comer, it was at the bottom. Reppes brought in his writ on June 17th, and was admitted likewise "to his place of precedence, saving the right of any other," and—doubtless because, though consecrated on the same day with Sampson, he had taken the second place at the ceremony—his "place of precedence" was assigned just below Sampson, that is, at the bottom. Barlow brought in his writ on June 30th, and he too was admitted, as they all were, "to his place of precedence, saving the right of any other." As he was either not consecrated at all or not consecrated till after Reppes, his place of precedence was at the bottom, but it is important to notice that he did get his "place of precedence." On July 4th, Fox (who had been abroad), brought in his writ and was admitted. Now, as he was consecrated long before Sampson, and even before Hilsey and Latim̄r, he received his "place of precedence" not at the bottom, but just above Hilsey. This, in fact, was the kind of right which was safeguarded by the clause "saving the right of any one." So far, then, all is clear, but now we come to the case of Wharton, who brought in his writ a few days later. Wharton was placed after Barlow, and the question is whether this implies that Barlow, having been challenged to show the date of his consecration, was able to show it successfully, or whether Wharton would have sat below him in any case, so that the challenge did not need to be made. The point to notice is the essential difference between Wharton's title to precedence and Fox's. When Barlow took his seat and "place of precedence," Fox already had a right to precedence above him. Wharton, on the other hand, had not acquired any right at all at that time; for he was not consecrated till Barlow had taken his seat. Would he, then, supposing Barlow to be still unconsecrated, be able to turn him out of the precedence he had already secured, or would he at once take his seat below Barlow without there being any need to inquire into the latter's consecration? It is thus the question needs to be put, and we must confine ourselves to putting it. To determine it would be presumptuous; but it is worth while to state it in the hopes that thereby it may be the more clearly brought under the notice of experts in such matters. Meanwhile, it must also be presumptuous for Anglican writers to determine off-hand in their own favour, what, we understand from a talk with an heraldic friend, is by no means an easy question. We must not forget, too, how much in those

days of autocracy the King's wishes would have influenced the settlement.

This is all we propose to say about the evidence which seems to tell against Barlow having been consecrated. Of course there are other points which have been relied on as telling either for or against the same conclusion, but they are of minor importance and as such not requiring mention in a short paper like the present. The conclusion to which the balance of probabilities points is, in our judgment, not indeed that Barlow was certainly not consecrated, but that there is serious ground for suspecting that he may not have been.

There is the further point, whether, supposing Barlow and his colleagues to have been true Bishops, they could have had the needful intention when consecrating Parker. This also, though in a series like the present it might be expected to find a place, we are obliged for want of room to pass over. Not, however, altogether unwillingly. That a still further source of invalidity did arise from the defective intention of these men, we feel quite convinced. At the same time, the nature of the defect, as we understand it, is so hopelessly misapprehended and misconstrued by Anglicans that the general result of insisting on it is to distract attention from the other and more radical defects which were likewise present. Indeed there are not wanting Anglican writers who persuade themselves that defective intention in these *consecrators* (which should be distinguished from the defective intention of the *authors* of the rite), is the one vice which we still find in their Orders. These three articles may perhaps help to show that this is not the case.

To sum up. The one ground for *absolutely* rejecting Anglican Orders, is that expounded in our second article; it is because their form is not the form of the Church, but a downright and intentional *corruption* of the form of the Church in an heretical sense. But beyond this far-reaching reason there are others which render Anglican Orders thoroughly suspect. Among these in the foremost place stands the fact that the Anglican form is a form of man's devising, substituted, in defiance of all the laws of prudence, for a form which is the venerable and Apostolic inheritance of the Catholic Church. The other elements of doubt to which we have drawn attention, arise out of the theological uncertainty as to what is required for a valid form, and out of the historical uncertainty as to the episcopal

character of Barlow, or of the sufficiency of the part taken at Parker's consecration by his three assistants.

How a Catholic can anticipate that the Church will ever give her sanction to Orders, over the value of which so much doubt hangs, or allow those who have no other title to priesthood, to stand at her altars, is more than we are able to understand. And if Anglicans can rely upon their efficacy with perfect contentment, generation after generation, they must forgive us for inferring that, however much they may imagine themselves to believe in Apostolic Succession, their belief is altogether wanting in the intense earnestness which characterizes ours.

S. F. S.

Art.

A FRAGMENT BY THE LATE FATHER THOMAS HARPER.

The relation of the Incarnation to Art.

PRELIMINARY.

lxxxvii. There are four causes in Art, as in all material entities: to wit, the efficient, the formal, the material, and the final cause.

THE EFFICIENT CAUSE.

lxxxviii. The efficient cause of Art is man. The proximate efficient cause is two-fold: First, the imagination of man in the theoretical order; and secondly, acquired knowledge with manual dexterity (the result of experience and habit) in the practical.

lxxxix. Of this sort of material knowledge and manual skill nothing need be said here; because it has only an indirect and subordinate relation to the theoretic in Art. Moreover, it claims an equal, if not superior, place in the servile or mechanical arts.

xc. The imagination of man for the most part follows the bent of his intellect and will. By the *bent* is to be understood the confirmed habits of both faculties. True Art is not spasmodic.

xc. The beautiful, *subjectively* considered, is that alone which seems such to the mind and will and imagination of the artist. Hence the truth of the proverb: *De gustibus non est disputandum*.

xcii. When the lower animal passions are allowed to lord it over the mind and will; their evil coarseness muddens the sense of the beautiful, and destroys true symbolism. To one of this stamp the beautiful is wholly cabined in matter, and never rises above it. It becomes the slave and interpreter of concupiscence and lust.

xciii. Wherefore, a bad man can never be a good artist; and an incontinent man (*ἀκρατής*) will be but a feeble artist.

xciv. Even a professed landscape may become pander to effeminacy in its details.

xcv. Virtue is a necessary condition of true Art. The beautiful is the splendour of truth and goodness; but the eye suffering from cataract cannot see it. For want of something nobler, the imagination picks up with meretricious beauty out of the gutter of foul desires.

xcvi. The more the body is subject to the spirit, the more favourable the conditions for becoming an artist.

xcvii. The nearer a man is to God, the True and Good; the nearer he is to the Beautiful.

xcviii. In proportion as an artist is a man of prayer; the greater the probability of his becoming an eminent artist. For Art is symbolical; and prayer is the great link between the seen and the unseen.

THE FORMAL CAUSE.

xcix. The exemplar or formal cause is the concept, the design of the artist.

c. The exemplar cause *in fieri*, or while the work is going on, becomes formal cause *in facto esse*, that is to say, when the work is completed.

ci. Though the intellect acts as president over the ideal composition; the imagination is formally and proximately responsible for it. The intellect presides; because a true work of Art is not a mere imitation. Brute animals can imitate by instinct, but they cannot create or realize the beautiful *as such*.

cii. Though the composition, as a whole, is ideal; the component parts are more or less imitative.

ciii. Consequently, Art requires models objective to the mind and imagination of the artist.

civ. In proportion as these are symbolic; so much the easier will it be for the artist to make his work symbolical. Exact imitations of trees would never suit the landscapes of Turner. A baby sucking its bit of coral would not require the presence of a Guardian Angel.

cv. By how much nearer the ideal concept of the artist is to heavenly things; by so much is it redolent of high art. Water is clearer and purer near its source.

cvi. If the things of nature are *definitely* symbolical, that is to say, are accepted as definite symbols of some particular spiritual grace; even a mere imitation may become a lesson in true beauty. The lily is a consecrated symbol of purity.

Yet the symbolism must somehow be objectivized; because Art paints beauty, symbolic as it is, on the screen of the visible.

cvi. As in bodily substance the form is the superior intrinsic cause; so in a work of art the idea or design is the predominant and determining cause. A scene in a public-house may become a clever painting, but never a production of true Art. Drunkenness and coarse conviviality are not beautiful, and are very far from Heaven.

cvi. As in bodily substance the substantial form moulds the matter; so in Art the *idea* should so mould the details, that these may harmonize with the artistic concept. A saint painted in the external form, features, and pose, of a man of the world is an anomaly; copied from the model of some meretricious beauty is shocking. A barn is not, on the whole, symbolical of worship.

THE MATERIAL CAUSE.

cix. The material cause in Art is two-fold; accordingly as the work is considered *in fieri* or *in facto esse*. The material cause during the course of working out the design is the material with which the artist works—such as (in painting), the canvas, oil, colours, &c.; in music the notes, tones and semi-tones, clefs, keys, chords, musical instruments, &c.; in poetry, rhyme, rhythm, words, syntactical structure. So for the rest.

cx. The material cause in the completed work are the details.

cx. The former, or material cause *in fieri*, has only an indirect connection with Christian Art as such. The latter, or material cause *in facto esse*, is of high importance; because it pertains to the symmetry of the idea. In a votive picture likenesses of the donors and their children are all very well, if included in the group of worshippers or otherwise connected with the artistic concept; but if they stand alone and prominent, they have no business there. It is an incongruity. The picture is not one, but two.

cxii. The symbolism of the details should conspire towards the evolution of the symbolism of the main concept. Consequently, the details should never step beyond the modesty of their subordinate place. A *façade* built higher than the roof as a screen of ugliness is a vulgar pretentiousness.

THE FINAL CAUSE.

cxiii. There are three final causes in Art: to wit, the final cause of the artist, the proximate final cause of the work, the ultimate final cause of the work.

cxiv. The final cause of the artist is the motive which induces him to undertake his work. This may be, either to make money (*of itself* the least worthy of motives), ambition of acquiring fame, love of the beautiful for its own sake, the desire of promoting the greater glory of God and devotion in the Church.

cxv. The treatment of this final cause belongs to Ethics rather than to Art. It has relation to the latter, only in so far as it may affect the choice of subject or interfere with the execution.

cxvi. The proximate final cause of the work is the production of the artistic concept; according to the proverb: *That which is first in intention is last in execution.*

cxvii. The ultimate final cause of the work is the purification of the imaginative faculty by symbolizing the spiritually beautiful through the medium of sensible beauty.

cxviii. Let it be remembered, that the absolutely beautiful is the Splendour or Glory of God, the One, the True, the Good.

The Incarnation the Parent of Christian Art.

PROLEGOMENON.

Christian Art is the highest and final development of Art in the actual order. Any divorce of Art from the Christian Church and Christian Creed must be a retrogression. This is the essential deformity of the Renaissance. Either the supernatural concept is wanting, and the excellence of the work (for what it is worth) exists in the details; or the concept after a sort is there, but without vitality, and the details caricature it. This is no mere theory, for it is based on established facts. Not long after the public and general political recognition of Christianity, the fine arts began to cluster around the Mother and her Child; and became willing handmaids of the faith. The gradual result has been a marvellous regeneration, the effects of which endure to the present hour, spite of the persevering antagonism exhibited by antichrists in each succeeding age. These effects are patent, and have been graciously or ungraciously admitted by enemies of the mediæval spirit. Recently in different parts of Europe, schools have arisen, which have essayed to resuscitate the spirit of Catholic Art. Save within the fold of the Church, however, these efforts have not been too successful, because slavish imitation is a body without life. In order to represent a saint, it is surely unnecessary to prolong his feet in defiance of

all proportion, and to depict him in a grotesque and unnatural pose; that which is wanted is, the supernatural glow which is the beauty of holiness. The former in the olden time were defects of detail, partly perhaps arising from a want of sufficient acquaintance with anatomy, partly, it may be, in accordance with the peculiar dress of the day. It is surely a pity to repeat the unpleasing defects without the compensation of that purest glow of celestial beauty which characterizes the originals. Such a proceeding belongs to caricature rather than to Art. On the whole might it not be better to purify mind, heart, and imagination in the crucible of the ancient faith; and then to reproduce the concept through the medium of details wherein the moderns have made real progress? It has been done: Witness an Overbeck and a Herbert.

cxcix. True Art has been ever struggling to represent the Spiritual and Divine; but, prior to the advent of the Word Incarnate, was driven back upon itself, because material things were under the curse, and the artist being unregenerate had no adequate capacity of conception, and no Models had been as yet provided.

cxix. For this reason pictures and images of the Spiritual and Divine were of old prohibited to the chosen people, because of the danger of their falling into idolatry, in order to satisfy their longings for a concrete and visible object of worship.

cxxi. Nevertheless it was allowed them to make representations of angels in their Temple of Sion; though, as it would seem, chiefly for ornament.

cxixii. When God became Man in the womb of the Immaculate Virgin, Art was supplied at once with two altogether perfect representatives of the beautiful in human form, the Mother and her Child.

cxixiii. Of these the One was the Word of the Father, made manifest to the senses by means of His Human Nature; the other was and is the paragon of creatures, a Virgin of Juda, of whom it is written: "Thou art all fair, O My Love; and there is no spot in thee."¹

cxixiv. Thus Art received two Models, the One of the male, the other of the female sex. The former is God as well as Man, so that His Beauty as Man is a direct expression of the Divine Beauty, so far as this can be safely revealed to mortal man.

¹ Cant. iv. 7.

cxxv. Symbolism is thus carried to the acme of possible excellence, a full, not an empty, symbolism. The Infinite Beauty of God was manifested on earth in the Sacrament of the Human Nature of the Word, according to the capacity and dispositions of those who approached Him.

cxxvi. In the instance of Mary, spiritual beauty of the noblest and purest form possible to a mere creature is for ever inseparably united to the former.

cxxvii. Of all things not directly revealed it is the most certain, that there is a family likeness between the Divine Child and His Ever-Blessed Mother.

cxxviii. The faces and forms of both have been handed down by tradition from the days of their sojourn upon earth ; so that in Catholic Art the representations of both are at once known as such by the devout faithful. This we may prudently believe to have been due to the special Providence of our own good God.

cxxix. Both the Child and His Virgin Mother had a human history full of incident. They were perfect examples of the beautiful in life and in moral action and in sublimest charity ; so that these form endless subjects for the inspired hand of a saint-like artist.

cxxx. As a consequence, in the liberty of the Gospel it was no longer forbidden to have and worship with relative honour pictures and images of God : For God has become Man.

cxix. The innocency of childhood is the sweetest among the things beautiful on earth. The Everlasting Word of the Father has made it of things visibly beautiful the brightest on earth and in Heaven.

cxxii. The purest and goodliest affection of human nature is that which joins in one the hearts of mother and child ; the most beautiful, because unreflecting, obedience is that of the little one to the wishes of its parents. These are the music of spring. The Beloved Son of God has divinized both in the stupendous humiliations of His human life. These breathe their perfume of Heaven from the images of Mary with her Child, and of Jesus in the arms of Joseph.

cxxiii. Among the lovely objects which exclusively belong to this time of trial, there is nothing perhaps more winning than intensest affection tried in the furnace of affliction even unto death. This offers the highest ideal of Christian tragedy. It is the music of autumn, whose leaves are golden ere they fall.

The Word Incarnate has divinized this too; and it is His chosen standard of victory. Art sets around the throne of suffering of the Man of Sorrows the crucifix, the *Ecce Homo*, the Stations of the Cross, the Mother of Dolours, the Descent from the Cross, the *pietà*.

cxxxiv. The Word Incarnate has revealed Himself under various forms of love and generous compassion. He is the Good Shepherd, the Father embracing His prodigal son, the Good Samaritan, the Bread of Heaven, the Vine, the Paschal Lamb, the Scape-goat. Here is the Divine porch to the symbolism of the creature. Pomegranates, oxen of brass, the cherubim, palm-trees, and other carvings in Solomon's Temple were either supports or ornaments. If they could boast of any symbolism, such symbolism was at the best a vague symbolism of hope and expectation. Matter had not as yet been taken up into God. Such symbols were "weak and needy elements,"¹ shadows of the future; as the mercy-seat was the shadow of the tabernacle over our altars, and the loaves of proposition were a symbol of the Holy Eucharist.

cxxxv. Since matter has been for ever united to God, artistic representations of the Holy Ghost, and even of the Father, are sanctioned by a Divine authority.

cxxxvi. As in the Gospel Theophanies the Eternal Father never manifested Himself under a sensible form to human eye, but only to the ear; Christian Art has chosen as a picture of Him the Ancient of Days,² described by Daniel the Prophet.

cxxxvii. The Holy Ghost represented Himself, in the Baptism of Christ by St. John, under the form of a dove; and, ever since, the Church has chosen the dove as the appropriate symbol of Him in her typical teaching.

cxxxviii. So far the direct influence of the Incarnation has been limited in thought to the arts of painting and sculpture; because these are the only arts capable of representing living things to the eye. Architectural works, it is true, are objects of sight; and include in their adventitious details figures of men, animals, flowers, fruits, &c. But these, when the architect has need of their service, are borrowed from sculpture and painting.

cxxxix. In the details of pictures and statues of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, not Divine Revelation alone, but likewise Christian Tradition, have suggested much for the artist's guidance. Besides the geographical position and characteristic features of

¹ Galat. iv. 9.

² Daniel vii. 9.

the sacred places familiar to readers in the Holy Gospels, the Holy House of Nazareth may be seen to this day in Rimini; the undivided robe of Jesus (worked by the fingers of our Lady) is still preserved at Trèves; a picture of our Lady in Heaven is given in the Apocalypse; the Jewish colour of mourning has determined the dress of the Mother of Dolours. The surroundings of the stable of Bethlehem are supplied by the Evangelists; the Christmas crib, the Holy Cross, the thorns, the nails, and other instruments of the Crucifixion, the holy sepulchre, the foot-prints on the mountain of Ascension, are all with us. The Holy Land is full of relics of the mortal lives of this earthly Trinity, and even Egypt contributes its share.

cxl. Almost all these Divine details have their own appropriate symbolism. To give a few instances: Bethlehem means the *House of Bread*: Nazareth is the *city of sanctification*, or the *blooming garden* wherein bloom the Lily of the Valley and the Rose of Sharon. The robe of Trèves symbolizes the indivisible unity of the Church. The girdle of the Crucified is the most touching model of Christian almsgiving. The long flowing hair of the Magdalen is a grand lesson of perfect contrition. It had been once an instrument of dangerous allurements; it is now a towel for the feet of Jesus. "As you have yielded your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity, unto iniquity; so now yield your members to serve justice, unto sanctification."¹

cxli. The Incarnation is, as it were, continued unto the end in the Holy Roman Church, with this difference, that the Church is the *mystical* Body of Christ.

cxlii. Through the Church men are born again into the Church, and become so many Christophers; of whom some come nearer than others to their Divine Model.

cxliii. Thence springs the hagiology of the Church, which has become a fruitful theme of Christian Art.

cxliv. Material light is resolvable into the prismatic colours. The Word Incarnate is the Light of the world; and Mary the reflection of His Light, as the moon reflects the light of the sun. Both are *all virtue* in unity of perfect harmonious combination. In the special servants of Jesus and Mary, some predominant colour individualizes them in memory and imagination; as, for instance, the red of a Divine charity, or the violet of humility. This affords the artist a boundless variety of subject and, taken

¹ Romans vi. 19.

together with the incidents of their life, a rich variety of treatment.

cxlv. The ideal design in Art is *formally* product of the mind and imagination of the artist. Wherefore, such as is the artist, such will be his choice of subject, and such his concept of the subject chosen. Consequently (as it has been stated in the preliminary canons), a vicious man can form no idea of the spiritually beautiful. In Christian Art the subject is supernatural; and it cannot be worthily conceived, unless mind, imagination, taste, have been supernaturalized. The reason is, that there must be due proportion between the efficient cause and its effect.

cxlvi. It takes a saint to paint a saint. How much more, to form some sort of true ideal of Jesus and Mary.

cxlvii. The regenerate man, clothed with sanctifying grace, is alone able for these things. The nearer he is to God and light, the nobler will be the design. Fra Angelico never resumed his morning's work at the easel without having previously gone to Communion; and it is said that he always painted on his knees. Overbeck was accustomed to receive Communion nearly every day.

cxlviii. Even the regenerate man, if he has gone back to the ways of the world, cannot design the heavenly and supernatural. Compare the works of Raphael in his first and last styles; the *Sposalizio* at Milan, for instance, with one of his later *Madonnas*.

cxlix. The more a Christian artist forgets himself, the more paramount the reign of supernatural beauty in his soul. A temper of self-aggrandizement is the ruin of true Art: as, indeed, of everything else that is true, good, or profitable.

cl. By virtue of the Incarnation, the *creature* (the rest of the visible creation subject to man) is after a manner divinized.

cli. It may then be piously believed that, in the very material which the Christian artist uses towards the production of his work, the liberated things of nature gladly assist him according to the measure of their capacity.

clii. But it is chiefly in the Catholic symbolism which has been impressed on the visible creation by its contact with the Word Incarnate, that nature in its state of initial liberation offers its services to the Christian artist.

cliii. This symbolism is partly of explicit Divine Revelation, or again implicitly dependent on revealed dogmas; partly the discovery of pious contemplation and of study of the symbolic of nature.

cliv. Each action and incident in the Life of our dearest Lord is a creed or a law of supernatural ethics.

clv. Among symbols explicitly revealed are, for instance, the *lamb*, the *dove*, the *eagle*, the *lion*, the *ox*, the *ass with the cross on its back*, the *palm-branch*, the *crown of twelve stars* on the Madonna's head, the *boat of Peter*. Among symbols implicitly depending upon Catholic dogmas are, the *vine*, *corn*, *oil*, *fish*, the various emblems of Saints. So likewise, symbols attached to the seven Orders of the Christian priesthood; for instance, the *tonsure*, *bell*, *key*, *dalmatic*, *stole*, *chasuble*, *chalice* and *paten*, *mitre*, *ring*, *pectoral cross*.

clvi. Some of these symbols in the sphere of revealed Truth are the result of meditation, and probably began, as it were, *privately*, but were afterwards commonly received as symbols. To give instances: Take the posture of Christ's arms on the Cross, or that of the Archangel Gabriel in the mystery of the Annunciation. Catholic devotion in our time loves to see the Divine arms extended as widely as possible, because it is a telling protest against the Jansenist heresy touching the fewness of the elect. In like manner it prefers that the Archangel should be represented as kneeling before Mary, because she is the Queen of Angels. So, once more, in some paintings the Mother of Dolours is represented beside the Cross of Calvary in a fainting posture and with all the signs of the uncontrolled violence of female grief. This is not consistent either with the Gospels or with the unparalleled perfection and dignity of the great Mother of God. She *stood* beside the Cross. In the matter of collocation, Catholics would probably prefer that in picture or statue the Mother should, as a general rule, have her Divine Child with her; for it seems to Catholic love impossible to separate Mary and Jesus, even in artistic concept. On the other hand, if the design is of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception or of Mary in her childhood, for instance, receiving lessons from St. Anna; such collocation would be scarcely fitting.

Reviews.

I.—BISHOP HEDLEY'S RETREAT.¹

ANYTHING which comes from the pen of the Bishop of Newport and Menevia is sure of a welcome from the Catholics of this country, who know from experience that whatever be the subject which the author touches, he will not fail to adorn it with a new setting at once solid and attractive. In the present instance, numberless as are the writers who have elaborated for us their systems of retreat, no one will be likely to complain that he has been presented once again with what has all been heard before. From first to last the book before us is stamped with the character which we should expect to find in it, knowing the quarter from which it comes, and the lack of which is often painfully felt in other works of the same kind. Especially notable is the constant supply of matter provided for the intellect as well as for the affections, for thought as well as for emotion. The author writes not only as an ascetic, but as a theologian, nay, as a philosopher, and under cover of the great truths which it is his immediate object to bring home to the soul, he suggests trains of thought far more calculated to counteract the sceptical tendencies of the day, than the purely rational arguments usually employed for the purpose. The book is therefore one which, beyond the purpose for which it is directly intended, may be strongly recommended for the spiritual reading of those who are necessarily brought into contact with the cold breath of that blighting scepticism which at the present day works so much havoc in the souls of men. As an example, we may cite the following reflections on titles by which we endeavour to describe God :

The words which mortal lips must use to shadow forth the Majesty of God are deep and pregnant and august. They are man's grandest

¹ *A Retreat, consisting of thirty-three Discourses with Meditations, for the use of the Clergy, Religious, and others.* By the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London : Burns and Oates. iv. 428 pp.

words. They come, like cool water from the depths of the earth, out of the hidden places of man's spirit. They are such words as living, intelligent, just, true, and good. These words are pictures or conceptions derived from man's own nature. He has nowhere else to go for them. Yet he is not wrong in looking there for them, for he himself bears a participated similitude to God. "Living" means possessed of the power of self-motion. "Intelligent" denotes the highest kind of life we can conceive—the life of our own spirits, as seen and understood by our consciousness; that supreme kind of "self-motion" by which a power moves which can look before and look behind, which can double itself back upon itself. If we call Him "just," it is that our reason tells us what it is to be "just," and that it is impossible for the Supreme Being to be anything that contradicts that idea. He is true—nay, the very truth; because all things that are were primarily mirrored in His intelligence before they began to exist; and they exist only because they are faint copies of Him; and thus their truth means being conformed to His mind. We call Him "good;" we know that things are "good" because He made them to express His own mind; and therefore if they are not marred somehow, or spoilt, or stunted, but are full, complete, finished, perfect of their kind, they so far stand for Him. We know that the "goodness" of the heart of a man is derived from its pointing at and tending towards what man was made for; that is, God Himself; and therefore "good" is in Him as in its fount. O burning Sun of all perfection! I know Thee, yet I know Thee not! I look around and see all things noble and fair; and Thou art all these things and more! I am struck with the thousand beauties of this universe; and they are only a faint effulgence of Thy Being. I rise from reading of the wise, and the just, and the noble, and their record is only the pale moonlight, waxing and waning, of an imperial Sun unseen. I know Thee, yet I know Thee not! And in my awe and reverence for the veiled yet absolutely real Lord of all power and majesty, I use my eyes and reason to lead my heart to adore that which neither eye nor mind can adequately know. (p. 34.)

Another characteristic feature of this retreat is the manner in which, especially for the earlier meditations, the Psalms are employed, those wonderful sacred lyrics which, as Cardinal Newman reminds us, Christianity in all its various ages has never been able to rival. Thus, with the third meditation, entitled "The Voice of God," are interwoven the 24th Psalm, *Ad te Domine levavi animam meam*, and the 28th, *Afferte Domino*. With the fourth meditation, on "God," we have the 8th Psalm, *Domine Dominus noster*; with the seventh, on "Sin," we have the *Miserere*. Similarly, in the eleventh meditation, on "Christ our Lord," there is introduced a very striking "Devotional

exercise on the Incarnate God as described in the Old Testament," while the fourteenth, on the "Public Life of our Lord," is illustrated from the Canticle of Habacuc. Throughout the exercises, in fact, we find prophecy and type brought into requisition, as they were meant to be, to enable us more fully to understand and realize the great mysteries to which they all point, and we are taught to regard the mysteries which should furnish us with the guiding principles of our lives, as enshrining the great truths in which human reason alike and the twilight of the old dispensation find their full and perfect accomplishment.

The plan on which the various exercises are arranged is not copied from any other retreat with which we are acquainted, and includes amongst the meditations several which would usually be described as "considerations" or "conferences." The topics treated in these are, however, always of prime and practical importance. The following is the order of the exercises :

1. Introductory. 2. My Soul. 3. The Voice of God. 4. God. 5. The personal names of God. 6. Redemption and Grace. 7. Sin. 8. Death. 9. Judgment. 10. Hell. 11. Christ our Lord. 12. Looking upon Jesus. 13. The Hidden Life of our Lord. 14. The Public Life of our Lord. 15. The Sufferings of Christ. 16. The Holy Spirit. 17. How to live in the Spirit. 18. The Religious Promise. 19. Obedience. 20. Poverty. 21. Prayer. 22. The Divine Office. 23. The Blessed Sacrament. 24. The Holy Mass. 25. The Love of God above all things. 26. The love of one another. 27. Work and Apostleship. 28. Our life and its surroundings. 29. Little sins. 30. Spiritual reading. 31. Our Blessed Lady. 32. Heaven. 33. Perseverance.

We trust that this work may repay the enlightened zeal which has produced it, by inducing many souls to give their attention to the study of the only wisdom which can bring them peace and satisfaction, that which is concerned with the end and object of their being, the service of God and their own eternal salvation.

2.—JOURNALS KEPT DURING TIMES OF RETREAT.¹

Most men of strong character have a special line of their own, both in their studies and in their work. This very distinct and

¹ *Journals kept during Times of Retreat.* By Father John Morris, S.J. Selected and edited by Father J. H. Pollen, S.J. (Quarterly Series.) London: Burns and Oates, Limited.

definite line is not necessarily followed by them at the expense of other studies or of other works which fall to their lot at the bidding of obedience. The spirit of obedience, which is so often strong with the strength of individual character, not seldom drives them into a desert of studies and of work which makes their lives to them a very wilderness. When, however, action is left free to them, their action makes manifest its mainspring. They give themselves at once spontaneously to studies and to works which declare the bent of their talent and their taste. The special line of Father Morris is stereotyped in the historical and biographical works which he has left behind him. He was a man who was really troubled with the troubles of our Catholic forefathers. He did his best to do them honour. His energies were spent in endeavour to secure for them the highest of heavenly honours to be had on earth, the veneration of them as Blessed in Heaven, and the raising of their mortal remains to the altars of the Church.

He must have felt, however, that this his work of predilection was a work which could not possibly be completed within the compass of an ordinary lifetime. He must have a successor if his work was to continue. He found both an assistant and a successor in a man of his choice. He trained him. He endowed him from the stores of his own knowledge, and he imbued him with his own spirit. In training his successor he was, unconsciously perhaps but in reality, training his biographer. A biography both gains and suffers when it is written by a friend. It may gain or suffer more if it is written by a son. It is then only when a son shares in the spirit of discrimination which was characteristic of his father, that the father's portrait will be presented with the fidelity of a judicial impartiality.

That the spirit of discrimination will animate his biographer is vouched for by the tenor of the touching and tenderly filial Preface to this volume in which Father Pollen declares himself to have found in Father Morris "a model and a guide, and more of a father than a friend."

A volume of Notes of Meditations and Considerations given by Father Morris in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Roehampton, recently published, has found a rapid sale. The biography of Father Morris is announced as in the press. It is a happy circumstance, if it is not also a happy craft on the part of his biographer, that he has first given us this Journal of Retreats. Here we have the man as he really was, and as he

knew himself to be, in presence of his Maker. His private thoughts before God will throw bright light on the words which he uttered in the ears of men. This autobiography of his interior life will be, as it were, the soul of the biography of his outer life, which is promised to us at no distant date.

Meantime, the readers of the Journal of Retreats will learn from it what a retreat really is, the way in which a retreat may best be made, and how Father Morris made his retreats. With the aid of this volume they can "watch him praying."

3.—PRIMITIVE AND ROMAN.¹

Father Rivington's *Primitive Church and the See of Peter*, has on the whole met with a very favourable reception from the non-Catholic Press. Reviewers have seen that it is a work of research, carefully and candidly written, and that it makes out a really strong case for Papal Supremacy. But Anglican eyes were turned towards the *Church Quarterly Review*, which was expected in its October number to contain an article from a pen which it is an open secret is that of Canon Bright. Now that the article has appeared, it is found to pursue a strange course for one whose authority stands high. Canon Bright can be courteous in his manner, and luminous in his expositions, but he is neither courteous nor luminous here. Instead of seriously discussing the arguments set before him, he adopts a contemptuous tone, and tries to exhibit Father Rivington as one who has given the world nothing but a congeries of blunders. The pamphlet before us is a short reply by Father Rivington to this review in the *Church Quarterly*, and those who read the two together may see how much, in this attempt to fix blunders upon another, Canon Bright has blundered himself. Thus, Father Rivington, referring to the famous letter written to the Corinthians by the "Church of Rome" in the first century, had argued that "Church of Rome" should be understood as we should now understand the term "Rome," or "Court of Rome," or even "Church of Rome." We mean by these phrases, the Pope as the Bishop of the "mother and mistress of all Churches," and in like manner argues Father Rivington, by "Church of Rome," St. Clement, who is known to be the real author of

¹ *Primitive and Roman*. A Reply to the *Church Quarterly Review*. By the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. London: Edward Stanford.

the letter, meant himself, as Bishop of Rome. Canon Bright was entitled to discuss these reasons, but instead of discussing them he ignores the fact of their having been advanced, and then accuses Father Rivington of reading Papal preconceptions into the text. As he himself does not discuss the arguments, it is he rather who is chargeable with reading in anti-Papal preconceptions.

So again Canon Bright must be held guilty of a strange blunder when he says of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate, "Let it be always borne in mind that if there is not sufficient evidence for his having been the first of Roman Bishops, the whole Papal claim collapses for lack of foundation." It quite takes one's breath away to hear such a statement from the lips of a distinguished historian, and that too in an age which particularly prides itself on its skill in reconstructing the history of pre-historic events by the results which they have left behind them. As Father Rivington says, "Men do not consider that the question of Gautama Buddha's existence is settled in the negative because of the absence of contemporary records." Why, then, should we reject the story of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate, even if it be true that there are no contemporary records, when subsequent history is simply unintelligible unless we assume it? Or if Anglicans consider that the facts of the second and following centuries are intelligible on some other principle than that of a Petrine Episcopate, let them not only state this but prove it by convincing evidence, a thing which has not been done yet, although we are approaching the twentieth century. It is surely significant that while Mr. Puller, in his *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, takes it as morally certain that belief in a Roman Episcopate of St. Peter was derived from the legend contained in the Clementine literature, Canon Bright, in this article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, sets aside Mr. Puller's theory as untenable, and excogitates another to take its place.

But Father Rivington calls attention to a still more extraordinary blunder in his Reviewer. It is on record that the Emperor Aurelian ordered the Churches at Antioch to be given back to that one of the two episcopal claimants who should receive letters from "the Bishops of Italy and the Bishop of Rome." Father Rivington in his book has referred to this, and Canon Bright meets him by saying, "Evidently he does not know that Italy, when thus distinctively used, meant Northern

Italy, the region which had Milan for its head." But to suppose that Milan was the head of Northern Italy so early as the reign of Aurelian evinces, as Father Rivington says, "quite an abysmal ignorance of the state of Italy in the reign of Aurelian, and of the organization of the Church in that third quarter of the third century." These are specimens of the eight points dealt with in *Primitive and Roman*, a pamphlet which certainly places the Reviewer in no very creditable light. But, Father Rivington says, evidently from his heart, "I am not seeking in this a dialectical triumph, but I yearn to assist in delivering some who may come under the Reviewer's influence from those false views of history, which often prove a stumbling-block to their return to the true fold."

4.—FATHER HUMPHREY'S ONE MEDIATOR AND SACRED SCRIPTURES.¹

Father Humphrey has the excellent instinct of selecting as objects for his study questions which are of perennial and primal interest. He deals directly with the fundamental truths of religion, and with vigorous directness deduces from them those consequences, which we have constantly to recall in order to elucidate the various difficulties, which in this inquiring age, are daily rising up before us. Hence it follows that his volumes form very complete little manuals on the theological inquiries of the day. This very completeness makes it difficult, however, to give an adequate idea of them in a review, a difficulty which, it would seem, their author himself has felt. So at least we should judge from the alternation of titles he proposes, and from his inversion of the alternatives in re-writing the second of the two volumes before us.

The One Mediator, or Sacrifice and Sacraments, commencing with a well-written treatise on the Sacraments, concludes with a setting forth of "the ultimate destiny of the sanctified intelligent creature in the Beatific Vision of the Creator." Here the number of popular questions treated (for so we may well term them) is considerable, the sacramental system, sacrificing priests, infant baptism, the essentials of the Sacrament of Order, are the first we notice. The subject of matrimony is excellently

¹ *The One Mediator, or Sacrifice and Sacraments*. Second Edition. 1894. *The Sacred Scriptures, or The Written Word of God*. By William Humphrey, Priest of the Society of Jesus. Art and Book Company, 1894.

handled; so is the position of persons who are "outside the Church." The author leaves his readers to apply the doctrine, as set forth, to the forms which these questions actually take in every-day life, and certainly they are best studied simply by themselves in the abstract. The professor of dogmatic theology is not indeed as such bound to apply the principles he teaches. His observations have a perfection and beauty of their own, quite apart from and above their applicability to modern needs. Yet this application is so often necessary and has such special difficulties, that we cannot but feel the lack of assistance here, however grateful we are for the general principles so well set forth by Father Humphrey.

The second volume, *The Sacred Scriptures, or The Written Word of God*, is a clear handbook of the Church's doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture, the value of which for the present time needs no proof. The Pope's Encyclical on the Study of Scriptures forms an appropriate Appendix.

If the first distinctive note of Father Humphrey's writing is the combined dignity and utility of the subject selected, an even more characteristic feature is his combination of excellent English with the freest and most familiar employment of the technical terminology of the Roman Theologian. We do not, in fact, at present remember any English writer who uses it to better advantage.

5.—THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.¹

The Dean of Lichfield, in the Preface to his little book on the *History of Marriage*, describes himself as moved to write by the feeling that many of his clerical brethren are not adequately informed on the subject, and that there is serious danger lest in consequence their influence should not be duly exercised for the prevention of further relaxation of the marriage laws. Such an aim is worthy of our fullest sympathy, and we trust the volume before us may have some success in attaining it.

Probably little can be done by the Anglican clergy to stay the tide of this obnoxious legislation, but it will be a gain if the Dean succeeds in convincing them that to co-operate in any way, whether by direct ministry or by sanction, in the re-marriage of a divorced person is an immoral act, to be

¹ *The History of Marriage.* By Herbert Mortimer Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. London: Longmans, Green, and Longman.

resisted at all costs, even of refusal to obey the civil law. Some of them, we know, hold that the innocent party to a divorce suit may be allowed to re-marry, though not the guilty : and even the assembled Anglican Episcopate, at the Lambeth Conference of 1888, took upon itself the responsibility of recommending its clergy not to refuse sacraments and Church privileges to the innocent party in such re-marriages. But as Dean Luckock truly says, "to those who hold the primitive doctrine, that the marriage bond is indissoluble, it is an equal sanction to a violation of God's eternal Law, to solemnize matrimony after divorce, either for the guilty or the innocent, until death has dissolved the original bond. The Church does not refuse to re-marry the guilty, as a penalty for guilt, but because it cannot, under any circumstances, pronounce its blessing on an adulterous union."

That of course is the essential reason for prohibiting attempts at re-marriage ; but this century has learnt by sad experience that, in prescribing the absolute indissolubility of the marriage bond, our Lord had in view the good of human society. The statistics of divorce are becoming quite appalling. Dean Luckock quotes some from the United States which give for the ratio of divorces to marriages between 1860 and 1880, in Massachusetts, 1 to 31 ; in Vermont, 1 to 20 ; in Rhode Island, 1 to 11 ; in Connecticut, 1 to 11. And he notices that when the necessary deduction has been made for the marriages of Catholics, who are forbidden the Divorce Courts, these statistics are found to bear far worse significance : in Massachusetts, 1 to 15 ; in Vermont, 1 to 13 ; in Rhode Island, 1 to 9 ; in Connecticut, 1 to 8. Of the Protestant districts on the Continent of Europe there is the same tale to tell ; and we have only to look around us in this country and see how headlong we are pursuing the same ruinous path. The limiting clause, "the cause of fornication excepted," in St. Matt. xix. 9, not unnaturally suggests to those who have nothing beyond textual exegesis to guide them, that in this one instance divorce *a vinculo*, and therefore re-marriage, is lawful. But the Dean shows that the tradition of the Church has consistently from the first understood the limiting clause to refer to the separation *a mensa et toro*, not to downright divorce. To his dealing with a few passages in the earlier writers we might have exception to take, but on the whole he has dealt with them well and has set forth their true sense.

The second part of the book is given to the question of prohibited degrees, and here Dean Luckock is not so successful. He repeats the venerable misconception to which we called attention in THE MONTH last July, that the Popes claim to dispense in the Divine Law. They do not claim anything of the sort. In regard to some few things other than marriage degrees, such as dispensation of vows, their action has been explained as though it were dispensing in the Divine Law, but only by a few theologians to whom the vast body of theologians have been opposed. As for marriage dispensations, no one ever thought of explaining them thus. But when Dr. Luckock attempts to prove his proposition by referring to the Tridentine Canon, which anathematizes any who said the Church had not the power to dispense in the impediments laid down in Leviticus, he shows the source of his misconception. He thinks that these impediments are permanent prescriptions of the Divine Law, and of course, if that is the conclusion which he thinks supported by the evidence, he is entitled to hold it. But he must interpret the practice of our Church by her beliefs, not by his; and there is no shadow of doubt that she does not believe Levitical prohibitions to belong to the still existing Divine Law, except those forbidding marriage of parent with child, and possibly of brother with sister. We cannot now criticize the evidence and show how fully they justify this position of the Catholic theologian, but may we refer the Dean of Lichfield to our own article of last July, or better still, to Father Harper's *Peace through the Truth* (Second Series), where he will find the whole subject treated in a masterly way?

6.—THE APOSTLES' CREED.¹

There has been of recent years quite a flood of literature dealing with that form of the Symbol of Christian faith which we are accustomed to call the Apostles' Creed. All the leading non-Catholic "theologians" of Germany, Harnack, Zahn, Caspari before his lamented death, and latest and longest, a certain F. Kattenbusch, have had their say upon the subject. Harnack's treatise, after creating a storm of discussion amongst his own countrymen, was not long since translated into English

¹ *Das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss.* Von Clemens Blume, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1893.

from the twenty-second or twenty-third edition of the original. When we mention that the translator is no other than Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the author of *Robert Elsmere*, the reader will hardly be surprised to learn that the conclusions of the Berlin professor are somewhat startling and subversive of orthodox tradition. Not unnaturally Professor Harnack's peculiar views, *e.g.*, that the framers of the Creed conceived of the Holy Ghost not as a person but as a power or gift, have rather shocked his Anglican admirers, and Doctor Swete, who a good many years ago published an historical study upon the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, has recently replied to Professor Harnack in a very able essay which exposes the thoroughly illogical character of the German professor's deductions.

In the meantime two Catholic treatises have appeared on the same subject, one by Dom Suitbert Bäumer, O.S.B., through whose recent death the Church in Germany has been deprived of one of her most eminent ecclesiologists, the other by Father Blume, S.J., the volume now under review. These two works appeared almost simultaneously, and Father Blume has only had the opportunity by the addition of a few paragraphs to his Preface to give friendly recognition to a book which supplements while it in some sense traverses his own. In their more fundamental conclusions the two writers are in entire agreement. Both recognize the fact that what we now know as the Apostles' Creed differs to some small extent, notably by the addition of the clauses, "He descended into Hell," "the communion of saints," "life everlasting," &c., from the baptismal Creed which was used in Rome in the middle of the third century. Both would trace back to Apostolic times the existence of some form of profession of faith containing all that is most essential in our present Symbol. Both would indignantly reject the notion that the Resurrection from the dead, the Ascension and the session at the right hand of the Father were originally regarded as one and the same mystery. However, in their views as to the first constitution of the *Apostolicum*, Dom Bäumer and Father Blume find themselves to some extent at variance. Father Blume lays great stress upon the statements of Rufinus and other writers at the end of the fourth century, and believes the literal accuracy of their assertions that the Creed then in use was the actual Creed composed by the Apostles. Dom Bäumer, on the other hand, while admitting a primitive form, or two primitive forms of the Creed, maintains that there has been a certain amount of

development, and that we cannot with any confidence trace even the earliest form to the authorship of the Apostles themselves. Of course Father Blume does not commit himself to any approval of the legend contained in early apocryphal writers which regards the Creed as made up of twelve articles successively enunciated by the twelve Apostles one after another as they sat in council. None the less we cannot but regard his position as rather an extreme one, very difficult to maintain in the light of existing evidence. Seeing, moreover, that there can be no question about the expansion of the Creed now in use from the shorter Roman baptismal form, a form employed liturgically as late as the eleventh century by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in the original Greek, it is hard to see what is gained by denying the possibility of a still more primitive development in the Roman Creed itself. For our own part we are in thorough agreement with an admirable paper on this subject recently contributed by Dom Cuthbert Butler to the *Downside Review*. Dom Butler sums up very temperately the points in dispute between Dom Bäumer and Father Blume, and after himself calling attention to an important document overlooked by both of them, to wit, the record of Thaddeus' preaching at Edessa imbedded in Eusebius, and noteworthy as containing the clause, "He descended into Hell"—he awards *gain de cause* on the main issue to his fellow Benedictine of Beuron. If we also give our vote on the same side it must not be supposed that we undervalue Father Blume's important essay. No one can regard it as other than a scholarly contribution to a somewhat obscure controversy, and from the point of view of the general reader we consider it as more practically useful than Dom Bäumer's volume, seeing that it addresses itself more directly to the refutation of the dangerous theories that have recently been propounded.

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

It has frequently been asserted that although mediæval times be described as the Ages of Faith, little or no trace can be found of any real or personal religion amongst the laity during that period. A contribution towards the study of this question is afforded by Father Schmitz, S.J., in his work, *The influence of*

Religion upon Life at the close of the Middle Ages, especially in Denmark,¹ which is reprinted from the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*. He examines with great care all the evidence that we have on the subject, and presents us with a mass of information alike curious, interesting, and edifying, in regard of the life of individuals, that of the family and the school, and the public life of the State. He has, however, confined his attention to one aspect of the question, treating of prayers, public and private, and religious observances of a more or less formal nature, and has not gone on to inquire how far the principles which he shows to have been recognized, were able to influence conduct, and to amend the vices to which human nature is prone. It is to be hoped that this point will likewise be investigated by an author who has evidently so much knowledge of the sources whence information should be drawn, for without such a complement the present treatise will be in danger of being considered to deal with profession rather than with practice.

We are glad to welcome a new edition of Canon Bagshawe's *Credentials of the Catholic Church*,² for there are few books calculated to do so much good in leading souls to the truth, and our only regret is that instead of its fifth thousand it has not reached its fiftieth.

We have received the ninth and tenth volumes of the translation of Hunolt's Sermons,³ forming a sub-section of the whole work entitled *The Christian's Last End*, and comprising seventy-six discourses. Few preachers of another race are so eminently suited to English modes of thought and feeling as Father Hunolt, whose plain and practical common sense is united to eloquence of no common power, and illuminated by brilliant thoughts and picturesque imagery. The work now approaching completion—two more volumes remain to achieve it—will form a storehouse from which no sacred orator need think it beneath his dignity to draw.

Father Boedder's *Psychologia Rationalis*,⁴ which forms the fifth volume of the *Cursus Philosophicus* for schools, written by

¹ *Der einfluss der Religion auf das Leben beim ausgehenden Mittelalter, besonders in Dänemark*. Von Wilhelm Schmitz, S.J. Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau. 160 Pp.

² *Credentials of the Catholic Church*. By the Very Rev. J. B. Canon Bagshawe. Fifth thousand. London: R. Washbourne.

³ *The Christian's Last End*. By the Rev. J. Allen, D.D., Missionary Priest, Queenstown, South Africa. New York: Benziger Brothers.

⁴ *Psychologia Rationalis sive Philosophia Humana*. In usum Scholarum. Auctore Bernardo Boedder, S.J. Freiburg: Herder, 1894.

Professors of Exaeten and Stonyhurst, will require a fuller notice in our next issue. Meanwhile, we call attention by these few words to its appearance. Father Boedder tells us in his short Preface, that his principal aim has been to expound and defend in plain language and with as clear arguments as possible, those truths of Psychology, the correct knowledge of which is requisite to meet the errors of the day. At the same time he goes systematically through the succession of questions which a treatise on Psychology raises.

Mr. Edward Plater is to be congratulated upon his musical setting of the words from a sixth century breviary hymn, *O Roma Felix*.¹ Both the air and the harmonies are most simple and tuneful. It will be found a very useful composition, as it is suitable not only for large choirs, but for those to whom pieces of but moderate difficulty are a great boon. A double arrangement has been published, one for mixed and the other for equal voices. Our Holy Father has graciously permitted the piece to be dedicated to himself.

Good airs for the Litany of our Blessed Lady,² and such as can easily be taken up by the people, are always welcome to choirmasters. Mr. McArdle's experience as organist of Stonyhurst College, and his well-known skill as a musician, have resulted in a book of *Twenty Single and Double Chants for the Litany*. They are excellent, and choirmasters would do very well to add them to their repertoire. We would especially recommend numbers 1, 3, and 10.

The ever-active Catholic Truth Society, fresh from its Preston triumphs, sends us another batch of its welcome publications. At the head of the list let us place Cardinal Vaughan's now historical address on *The Reunion of Christendom*.³ It has been criticized everywhere from various points of view during the last two months, and it will be useful to have it always by us, if only to know what the Cardinal really did say.

The Anglican Claim of Apostolic Succession,⁴ by Cardinal Wiseman, is a reprint, from the *Dublin Review* of 1839, of the famous article to which Cardinal Newman's conversion, as we

¹ Motet, *O Roma Felix*. By Edward A. Plater. London: Edwin Ashdown.

² *Twenty Single and Double Chants for the Litany of the B.V.M.* By H. J. McArdle. London: Novello, Ewer, and Co.

³ *The Reunion of Christendom*. By Cardinal Vaughan. London: Catholic Truth Society.

⁴ *The Anglican Claim of Apostolic Succession*. By Cardinal Wiseman. London: Catholic Truth Society.

have it from his own pen, was in large measure owing. Its subject is the close parallelism between the position taken up by the modern High Church School and the position taken up by the Donatists in the fourth and fifth century. The paper is quite as appropriate now as it was then. Father Rivington writes a short Preface.

Father Cologan, the author of the *Scriptural Life of the Blessed Virgin*, following out the same idea, has written *The Life and Writings of St. Peter*,¹ with notes. The Life is framed by putting together the various passages relating to St. Peter from the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Writings are his First and Second Epistles. The notes are just sufficient to help a plain reader to understand the text, and are largely taken from the Fathers of the Church. By an arrangement like this the reader is enabled to realize how distinctly Holy Scripture points to the Catholic view of St. Peter's character and office.

How I came Home,² by Lady Herbert, is a history of her own conversion, which she tells with her accustomed skill. We are persistently assured by certain writers that converts are always led to take the step by feelings, not reasonings. This little sketch gives, as others who have passed through the process themselves can attest, a true picture of the intermingled workings of head and heart which lead so many into the Church.

The series entitled *The Church of Old England*³ reaches its third and fourth volumes. The series describes itself accurately as "A collection of papers bearing on the continuity of the Church in England, and on the attempts to justify the Anglican position." These two volumes, or still better the four volumes, form a convenient handbook for clergy and laity who have so often to deal in their own neighbourhood with the persistent fabrications of continuity lecturers. Of the tracts bound up in the third volume we may mention Cardinal Vaughan's *Conversion of England*, Father Sydney Smith's *Rome's Witness against Anglican Orders*, Mr. Britten's *Why I left the Church of England*, and, in the fourth, the Cardinal's *Blessed Peter and the English People*, Canon Moyes' *Twelve Facts proving that the*

¹ *The Life and Writings of St. Peter*. With Notes. By Rev. W. H. Cologan. London: Catholic Truth Society.

² *How I came Home*. By Lady Herbert. London: Catholic Truth Society.

³ *The Church of Old England*. Vols. III. and IV. London: Catholic Truth Society.

Church of England before the Reformation was Roman Catholic, and Mr. Hobson Matthew's *Continuity Reconsidered*.

The Scottish Branch of the Catholic Truth Society is to be congratulated upon the very admirable beginning they have made in their own special line of history. They are fortunate, indeed, in having secured for a number of their pamphlets the services of Father Stevenson, S.J., who writes, it need hardly be said, with a marvellously wide grasp of his subject, but who yet preserves a brightness and simplicity of style which is a model for popular historical literature. It is to us quite wonderful that at his very advanced age this venerable Jesuit, who has not long since received from the University of St. Andrew's the degree of LL.D., *honoris causa*, should still write so vigorously. We earnestly commend to all who are interested in such subjects his *Church in Scotland from St. Columba to St. Margaret*, his *John Knox and his Friends*, and in fact all his contributions to this excellent series.

The new Scottish branch of the Catholic Truth Society also sends us two specimens of its literature, which we recommend with great pleasure. One is a republication in separate form of Bishop Hay's chapter on *The Holy Eucharist and Transubstantiation*,¹ an effective paper, specially adapted to those who ask what the Bible says on this subject and who are capable (as unfortunately so many Bible Christians are not) of applying to Bible interpretation a few simple laws of human speech.

*The Way to Heaven*² is a tract of a more spiritual complexion, which endeavours to bring home to people affected with indifferentism the vital importance of considering the claims of religious truth. The Scottish Branch has not been idle. From the advertisement on the cover we learn that it has already, in the first year of its existence, published sixteen papers.

The new edition of a work on ornament,³ so well known in Germany, is so carefully revised by a brother professor at South Kensington that it deserves a mention. The least satisfactory illustrations are those drawn from mediæval architecture and

¹ *The Holy Eucharist and Transubstantiation*. By the Right Rev. Bishop Hay. Glasgow: Catholic Truth Society (Scottish Branch), 251, Renfrew Street.

² *The Way to Heaven*. Glasgow: Catholic Truth Society (Scottish Branch), 251, Renfrew Street.

³ *A Handbook of Ornament*. By Franz Sales Meyer, Professor of Applied Art, Karlsruhe. Second Edition. London 1894.

from modern applied art. Possibly German furniture and *objets de luxe* are less advanced than what issues from our best firms in England. The text of the book is excellent, and the subjects well arranged.

Mr. Marks is so well known by his genial paintings, by his grave birds, and pleasant people, that the sketches of his pen and pencil¹ cannot fail to be pleasing to a very wide circle. He is a skilled art critic, and as such wrote for some time in the *Spectator*. His art education was anything but Academic, and his paintings owe no doubt much of their freshness to this. The book gives a pleasant insight into English painter-life, but perhaps it has the one fault of being too long. The illustrations are generally admirable, though a few of the caricatures of art workers have little interest for the general public.

A new volume of the Science and Art Series² gives us practical teachings of one who has been art-worker in the well-known goldsmiths' firm, Elkington and Co. Mr. Harrison, the author, goes carefully through the various processes employed by the worker in precious metals. The figure vii. of chapter ix. certainly does not represent a censer, but a lamp.

Bermudez' *Dictionary of Painters, and Sculptors, and Architects of Spain*,³ which appeared in 1829, requires an ample Appendix to supply its many omissions. The Count de la Viñaza has admirably filled up the void by his four small volumes, which contain the names of four hundred artists not mentioned by Bermudez. These are chiefly the early artists, whose works were at the date of the former publication little esteemed. The Count gives one of his four volumes to the middle age artists, with capital summaries and lists of their names and of the places where they worked. The other three volumes give the artists of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The work is invaluable for any one who studies Spanish art.

A series of *Catalogues raisonnés* of the art treasures of the galleries of Europe,⁴ with texts by men specially fitted for the work, and a hundred phototypes in each volume will give a very excellent idea to the art student of the treasures we

¹ *Pen and Pencil Sketches*. By Henry Stacy Marks, R.A. London, 1894.

² *Decoration of Metals*. By John Harrison. London, 1894.

³ *Adiciones al Diccionario Histórico de Don Juan Bermudez*. By the Conde de la Viñaza. Madrid: 1894.

⁴ *La Peinture en Europe. Florence*. By George Lafenestre et Eugène Richtenberger. Paris.

possess. The first volume, that on the Louvre, has already appeared. That containing the works in beautiful Florence form the second volume, which has just appeared. Each portion is preceded by an admirable sketch of the general subject, a careful bibliography, and a notice of the chief collections of engravings of the works described. The galleries, churches, public and private buildings are then exhaustively gone through. It is melancholy to reflect that S. Marco with its hallowed precincts appears as a mere picture-gallery. Each painting is carefully annotated, with the engraving, if any, noted.

The new number of the valuable series published by the French schools of Athens and Rome,¹ consists of a careful catalogue of the valuable collection of Greek bronzes discovered or acquired by the Archæological Society of Athens. They throw great light on the growth and decline of Greek art, all the objects being *bonâ fide* Greek, and not, as is so often the case in ordinary collections, imitation Greek of Roman or foreign origin.

Place for a new elementary work on embroidery² is hardly to be found, so much has been written and so well on the subject. The work of Mrs. (?) and Mr. Marshall is slight, and goes but little into detail.

II.—MAGAZINES.

The *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* for October, which arrived too late for notice in our last, though all its items are treated in solid and substantial fashion, presents us with a sufficiently diversified bill of fare, as will be understood when we say, that the topics treated in its various articles range from an examination of Henry George's labour theories, to the Ravenna mosaics, and from the influence of Mahometanism upon Arabic literature, to that of the phylloxera on modern vineyards. A special interest, for us in this country, attaches to a short critique on the brochure of Professor Boudinhon, of Paris, dealing with the recent contribution of a certain French writer to the controversy on Anglican Orders; the critic agrees with the writer in holding that the soundest and quite sufficient argument

¹ *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fasc. 69. Catalogue des bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes. Par A. Ridder. Paris, 1894.*

² *Old English Embroidery, its Technique and Symbolism. By Frances and Hugh Marshall. London, 1894.*

against the validity of such orders is that drawn from the insufficiency of a new rite of ordination, introduced by no legitimate authority, and mutilated with heretical intent.

In the *Katholik* for November, Dr. Nirschl critically examines the evidence regarding the tomb at Ephesus, traditionally known as our Lady's; another article deals with the latest phase of the Church question in Germany, while in the conclusion of his "English Ritualists and the Gregorian Chant," Dr. P. Wagner sets forth much curious and interesting information as to the mediæval developments of the calendar, and the gradual division of the Offices of the Church into three parts, *Temporale*, *Sanctorale*, and *Commune*. Nothing, however, in his article is so startling as its conclusion: "Frenchmen and Englishmen are zealously employed in investigating the musical art of the middle ages. And we Germans?"

The *Études* for November opens with a most interesting and erudite paper by Father C. de Smedt, on Trial by Wager of Battle, a practice, remarks the writer, which is found only amongst peoples of Germanic origin, and amongst them only after their conversion to Christianity, although the Church, far from lending it her sanction, constantly opposed and condemned it, that is to say by her authoritative and official representatives, whereas it is not denied that individual Bishops and Abbots, in their character of temporal magnates, not unfrequently encouraged it. We are promised more on this subject in a future article. Father Bainvel deals with misquotations of Scripture in the pulpit and elsewhere, an abuse which must be more flagrant in France than it is with us, if, as he tells us, in order to apply it on a mortuary card, the well-known passage (Prov. xxxi. 25) *Fortitudo et decor indumentum ejus, et ridebit in die novissimo*, is commonly rendered, "On a vu sur son visage, apres sa mort, comme un doux reflet de la sérénité de son âme." Among the reviews we are glad to find one of the French translation of Father Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, a work which is justly characterized as admirable for its sobriety, erudition, and tone of judicial calm. The reviewer assures us that the translation was much needed, as England has no monopoly of sweeping condemnations of monasticism based on the supposed facts disclosed on occasion of the Tudor suppression. We notice that on one occasion he has transformed the author's name into "D. Garnet."

There are six main articles in the two last numbers of the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, and of these a paper on the "Reform of the Russian Church under Peter the Great," strikes us as the most generally interesting. Father Arndt goes systematically through various points of doctrine and discipline, and shows how complete was the transformation effected by the autocratic Czar, and how entirely that unfortunate communion has parted with even the shadow of independence. The Papal Encyclical, *Providentissimus*, on Inspiration, forms the subject of a very thorough discussion by Father Nisius, who devotes sixty pages to the task. There is also an interesting article by Father Michael in the July number on Innocent IV. and Conrad IV. Among other miscellaneous matters which crowd the remaining space, the discussion of the genuineness of the letters of the Catholicus Mar Papa, a translation of which from the Syriac was published earlier in the year, seems to us best worthy of special notice.

We have no space to do more than mention that excellent periodical, *L'Université Catholique*, which has replaced, and which maintains the high reputation of the old *Controverse et Contemporain*. The summaries by which it keeps its readers up to date in all the latest developments of Biblical criticism, Patristic literature, theology, and Church history are particularly worthy of praise.

It is always with pleasure, not unmixed with a certain spice of envy, that we take up a number of the *Literarische Rundschau*. It will be long, we fear, before Catholics in England are able to command such an array of specialists for their book notices and reviews. In the November number we notice particularly the critique by Gottlob of Kirsch's *Die päpstlichen Collectorien in Deutschland*, which is all that might be expected of a reviewer so intimately acquainted with the details of this special subject. There is also an interesting notice of the series of compendious Philosophical Manuals in Latin, edited by the Professors of Exaeten and Stonyhurst, and which only lacks Father Boedder's *Theologia Naturalis* to complete the full tale of seven volumes originally projected. Readers of the *Literarische Rundschau* will look forward eagerly to the promised appearance in its next number of an obituary notice of De Rossi, by a hand competent to do justice to the great archæologist's special lines of study.

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